IAIN BUCHANAN

The Armies of God

A Study in Militant Christianity

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By Iain Buchanan

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Also by Iain Buchanan

Fatimah's Kampung

(Consumers Association of Penang)

PREFACE

It might be tempting, in this Year of Obama, to think that US politics, in some small way, have changed for the better. For many, at the very least, the shady beginnings of the great "War on Terror" already seem quite a long way away. Therein, of course, lies the logic of it all.

It is proper, nowadays, in decent circles, to sombrely condemn Islamic extremism. It is also fashionable, in those same circles, to scornfully dismiss the wilder fringes of Christianity. After all, how can the two possibly be seen in the same light?

And yet, barely 25 years ago, President Ronald Reagan justified a radical swing to the right, in both domestic and foreign policy, by close reference to the Old Testament. In particular, the Cold War with Russia, the availability of nuclear weapons, and the place of Israel were all presented as signs that a prophecy in the book of Ezekiel was coming to pass. Gog and Magog were marching, and the United States and Israel had the divine role of opposing them, thereby hastening Armaggedon. Under Reagan and Bush the Elder, the forces of Reaganism effectively re-ordered politics across the entire globe—strengthening US hegemony, deepening the chaos of the Middle East, and smashing opposition from peasant movements, from the United Nations, and from the world's only other nuclear superpower. The style changed a little, as the Clinton years showed

America's milder, less "fundamentalist", face. But in substance, the onslaught of the American Way continued.

Then George Bush Jnr came to the White House. Once again, the Book of Ezekiel was produced in support of US policy. Once again Gog and Magog were on the march, and the Holy Land of Israel was threatened. Only this time it was not Russia, but Islam, that was the enemy of the American Way.

Now, once again, a change of style has been ordained. It is part of the logic. After Carter came Reagan. After Clinton came George W Bush. And after Obama ... ?

This book is about the system which underlies this *pas de deux* this "good cop, bad cop" game of power. The names may change. The system, and its enabling mythologies, do not.

INTRODUCTION

Of Prince Bishops and Striking Miners ...

WHEN the family home cracked in two over a collapsing coal mine, my Aunt Peggy became a tenant of the Church Commissioners. She moved to Auckland Castle, seat of the Bishop of Durham, and took up residence in Scotland Wing, above the ancient dungeons which once held Scottish prisoners of war. In one of these dungeons she kept her bicycle, and ran a small dog-clipping service. As well as being a dog clipper, my Aunt Peggy was a faithful member of the church, a part-time guide in the Castle, and a keen organizer of outings for various charitable groups. My interest in religion, as a tool of the state, to a large extent began with my Aunt Peggy.

Having little school education, Aunt Peggy was a self-taught archaeologist, botanist, geologist, and historian—and a marvelous guide to what was surely one of the most fascinating parts of the British Isles. She'd take us everywhere: to Hadrian's Wall, whose stones crop up in forts, farm houses, and churches across four counties; to mining villages, steel towns, and stately homes; to the old quarries and lead mines of Weardale; along the Northumbrian coast to the Holy Island of Lindisfarne, home of the Lindisfarne Gospels, and the base of early Christian evangelizing; and to Durham City itself, to the murmuring coolness of the cathedral, with its pillars of Weardale fossil, its Gothic

arches, and its ranks of sculpted crypts—for bishops, princes, saints, and warriors. Then, of course, there was Aunt Peggy's home itself. For centuries, the Prince Bishops had minded Northern England for the King, against both Northumbrian rebels and invading Scots. So Auckland Castle—though more a residential palace than a castle—was built like a fortress, on a hill, with a wide outer wall, inner walls three feet thick, and a clutch of cramped, low-ceilinged dungeons. With its grand facade, its splendid chapel, and its sprawling deer park, it was very much a symbol of the power of the political church.

I learnt a great deal from my visits to Aunt Peggy. Above all, the North East was a microcosm of England's Christian history—and of the long and complex interplay between Church and State. Far from London, the Prince Bishops had the job of defending the monarchy, and keeping the faith secure and well-financed, within a strategic border domain. Their Palatinate rights gave them considerable regional autonomy—they could raise their own taxes, mint their own coinage, manage their own trade, keep their own armies. They even built their own ships for the task of fighting the Crusades—although for the most part, the kings of England preferred to fight the Muslims themselves, putting the Prince Bishops to the task of minding the realm's rather troublesome back door.

By the 19th century, the North East was still of strategic importance to the British state—but now as a provider of coal, steel, ships, and armaments. The Diocese of Durham lost its palatinate powers in 1836, when the Prince Bishops were abolished. And many of the old landed estates and castles were bought up by coal owners like the Lambtons and industrialists like William Armstrong the armaments baron, who in 1894 acquired the great Northumbrian castle at Bamburgh for his private palace. With industrialization, of course, the link between Church and State remained. But a feudal and Episcopalian Church now had to deal with a vast proletariat, and the inroads of creeds rather more friendly to the poor like Primitive Methodism. Many would say the Church of England failed to move with the times —and

so, by the end of the 20th century, it was still popularly seen as "the Conservative Party in prayer", with its money in stocks and shares and shopping centres.

But there were rebels here and there. In 1985, when I was still a geography lecturer, I helped to organize a field trip to northern England for second year students. It was the year of the Miners' Strike. We had chosen the coalfields of Durham as our location, and would cover a wide range of geographical themes—from geomorphology to settlement patterns to economic landscape. An obvious focus for the trip would have to be the parlous state of the mining communities —the coal mining industry was being harshly rationalized, mines were closing, villages were in deep depression, and government policy towards such staple industries, and the regions they sustained, was being sharply criticized. At the time, one of the more vocal critics of state policy was the Bishop of Durham, David Jenkins. The government, said Bishop David, must not be allowed to beat the miners. At least, not completely. To this rather mild rebuke, the Thatcher Government responded with fury: "As a Christian bishop in a mining diocese," Energy Secretary Peter Walker told Bishop David, "your objectives must be identical to the policies that the Government are willing to finance." The striking miners, of course, were beaten. And they were beaten completely.

I went to see the bishop, and asked him if he could suggest anyone who could help me and my students get to grips with the problems facing affected communities. He put me in touch with Reverend Tony Hodgson, the local vicar at Easington Colliery. Reverend Tony was a gentle, disheveled sort of man who gave the impression of being more at home with books than with everyday life. As it turned out, he was anything but. He was a pillar of the mining village he ministered to in every respect (especially of the "low end", where the miners' terraces were)—he opened the church to the striking miners, stood with them on the picket lines, and sat with them in committee, while his wife made the sandwiches and provided the drinks. And when

the students came to do their work, Reverend Tony made sure there was a cross section of the community ready to welcome them and talk about the issues, in a dozen homes, at meetings in the church hall and evenings at the pub.

Most of the students were southerners with little idea of life in the depressed north, and the encounter with Easington was clearly a shock to them. For here was a district with some of the worst measures of deprivation in the country—and things could only get worse. But what really brought the problems to life for them was not the academic appreciation of things, it was the earnest involvement of a local clergyman in the worldly affairs of his parish. The Reverend Tony was a good and honest man. A real Christian. The poor and the unemployed of Easington Colliery liked and trusted him.

And so, of course, it was not long before the Reverend Tony was transferred to a safer, more suburban, parish.

A Priest Among the Padi Fields

Later that year, a world away, I met up with another churchman. I had gone to East Malaysia, to do some work on rice farming communities around Kota Belud. It was Christmastime, and here and there, amongst the padi fields, small thatched houses were draped in seasonal banners that glittered in the heat and spelled out "Happy Christmas" in two languages.

I was working with two communities, one Muslim and one Christian, and trying to understand how each was affected by commercialization. It had become clear fairly early on that religion was a factor in the equation that had to be considered. The Bajau and Dusun communities were separated by different cultural traditions, by different experiences of colonial rule, by different religions —and by different levels of wealth and welfare. It was a complex

interrelationship that I wanted to try and unravel. As I pursued the matter, I was referred to a man who had been one of the prime movers of change in the area over the previous half a century. His name was John Trevor White.

I arranged to meet him at his home, just above the Dusun village of Taginambur. He was in his mid-seventies, a good-natured and serious man with a wary smile, and one of just a handful of European settlers in the district. We talked about his early years in the valley, about farming, education, and the problems of youth unemployment. Born in Somerset, John Trevor White had come to Borneo in the 1930s, and had been a missionary for the Borneo Evangelical Mission ever since—first at Ranau, and then (after a 50-mile trek through the jungle with some of his followers) at Taginambur. With saw-milling and carpentry equipment hauled down from Ranau, White and his people created a second B.E.M. base of strategic importance—this time down in the valley, amongst the Bundu Dusun, and close to the coastal world of the Muslim Bajaus.

The mission at Taginambur became a crucial centre for the spread of the B.E.M. church. Some 29 local churches grew up around White's home, and pastors trained by White went out across North Borneo to evangelize the rest of the Dusun population. Some 70% of all Dusuns are now Christian—and around 100 of Sabah's 500 B.E.M. churches are the product of John Trevor White's proselytizing. And most of the leadership of the B.E.M. (now known as Sidang Injil Borneo, or S.I.B.) are from White's base at Taginambur.

I visited the area a number of times over the next two years, interviewing rice farmers in a number of villages, both Dusun and Bajau. There was no doubt that John White's evangelizing had affected the Dusun villagers in many ways. The animistic "demons" he had set out to destroy were barely in sight—except for a nod or two to the tourist market. Instead, there was a large new church in the village, an energetic group of mission-trained teachers in the

school, and a number of successful businesses run by members of the congregation. But it was not clear just how much of the Dusuns' economic condition was in fact a reflection of more intrinsic cultural factors: as sedentary farmers, already favoured by colonial rule, they had a distinct advantage over the more seafaring (and recently settled) Bajau just down the road; and besides, their stronger cultural affinity to the mercantile Chinese in the region gave them an additional boost—including through intermarriage, which rarely happened between the Chinese and the Muslim Bajau.

But the exercise had fired my interest in something much larger than what was happening in these few villages. What I was seeing was obviously just a local expression of a wider and more complex process—just as more worldly developments, in local farming technology, shopping patterns, or diet, reflected a wider commercialization of life, so too did religious change in the village reflect networks of influence which were anything but indigenous. Eventually, this larger concern took over, and I set out to trace the process backwards, from John Trevor White's church in Taginambur to the more global machinery of evangelical mission.

The Borneo Evangelical Mission, from the start, had been a part of the British colonization of North Borneo and Sarawak—the product of missionaries from Britain and Australia, inspiration from the China Inland Mission, and a welcoming colonial administration. By the 1950s, there was acknowledgement that a degree of indigenous ownership (or at least the appearance of such) might well be a good idea. In China, Christianity was now being strictly controlled, the China Inland Mission had been forced out of the country, and the church was responding to the new era with a "Three Self" movement for indigenous growth—self-support financially, self-leadership, and self-propagation. It was a model that appealed to the Borneo Evangelical Mission. Or at least to those who oversaw it.

In 1959, B.E.M. was renamed, in the National Language, Sidang Injil Borneo. Then, in 1975, S.I.B. was absorbed by the Colorado-based Overseas Missionary Fellowship—a global mission "corporation" which had taken over from the China Inland Mission in exile, and which operated as a clearing house for evangelization throughout Asia. Four years later, the church was officially declared an indigenous "Three Self" church. Within O.M.F., however, the Sidang Injil Borneo had an important role to play well beyond its native territory.

With regional headquarters in Singapore, O.M.F.'s brief in Asia was threefold: evangelization of Muslims, evangelization of China (and expatriate Chinese), and evangelization of tribal groups. Most of the native population in East Malaysia belong to strongly Christianized tribal groups living cheek-by-jowl with both Muslim and Chinese populations. As such tribal groups are Sidang Injil Borneo's natural and primary constituency, this clearly provided an opening for the church in the rest of "tribal" Asia. Thus, with the benefit of O.M.F.'s extensive network, S.I.B. now sends missionaries to West Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Papua-New Guinea, and southern Philippines. "We have the experience in ministering to tribal people," said Gerawat Maran, president of S.I.B. Sarawak in 2001. "That's why we were asked to go to help them."

* * * * *

Twenty-four years ago, I had been struck by the way that politicians clearly seemed to be in charge of the church in England. I had also been fascinated by those Christmas banners fluttering in the heat over Borneo padi fields.(1) Then, I had only the slimmest conception of the play of religion in world affairs. But what I saw in the Northeast of England and in Sabah (and later in India) raised too many questions to ignore, and I ended up taking a path of enquiry

which was seemingly far removed from my original objectives—and also, it seemed, little related to my training as a geographer.

But was it? The more deeply I went, the more I realized how important religion was to understanding my own field of study—both as a power in itself and as a proxy for other things. And it became clear to me that, after all, religion should be made more explicit - both as an ethical framework for us to use in our enquiry, and as an institutional structure for us to study. And especially in "development studies". If my adventure with the evangelical movement has taught me anything, it is that too many people have an interest in such matters remaining arcane, wrapped in theology, and not a "proper field" for academics to toy with.

Meanwhile, in our study of modern imperialism, in our appreciation of all its manifold aspects—its economic machinery, its political construction, its military powers, its socio-cultural, religious, and linguistic pressures—we miss a particularly potent dimension. Religious belief is one of the most sensitive and defining features of any culture. And it is precisely because of this that it is so assiduously exploited—and so coyly avoided as a topic of polite conversation.

Chapter One

THE ARMIES OF GOD

"When Fascism Comes to America,
it will be wrapped in the flag, and
carrying a cross" — *Sinclair Lewis.*

Introduction

ALL political systems, even avowedly "secular" ones, are defined to some extent by religious ideology. In any society, religious tradition influences everything else—it shapes economic, social, and political attitudes and institutions, it shapes how people respond to outsiders, to those stronger or weaker than themselves, to those with different (and especially historically opposed) traditions. We jealously protect our religious traditions: they symbolize our essential identities, historically, culturally and politically; they symbolize for us—as cultures and as individuals—both our dignity and our very souls.

In an unequal world, however, some are better able than others to protect their great symbols. And, what is more, better able to impose them on others. For centuries, this has been the case with Western Christianity. As European powers expanded their secular influence, they expanded their religious influence too. Christianity, inevitably, became the faith of the dominant, and—as much as was either necessary or possible—the faith of the dominated as well. But the West's religion, by definition, was inseparable from its wider cultural, economic, and political mission—in other words, Christianization

was a normal part of westernization. The link was reciprocal: western influence in worldly matters—government, schooling, commerce, or soldiering, for example—often led to the spread of Christianity; the spread of Christianity, on the other hand, was often a useful tool for the promotion of western tastes and habits. For centuries, evangelization involved just such a symbiosis. The symbiosis was well understood, and deliberately promoted as imperial policy.

Until the mid-20th century, the play between imperialism and religion was the province of the West Europeans. And so what happened in Africa, or India, or Southeast Asia was very much a reflection of how Europe's colonizers had incorporated their religious faith into their secular existence back home—and especially how they had theologized their power over others, and then projected the result on the world they had colonized. The formula, of course, varied - from Catholic (and feudal) Iberia to Protestant mercantilist Holland or Protestant industrial Britain.

In the decades after World War II, the world changed markedly. Patterns of economic and political power changed, and so did the pattern of Christianization. To understand the evangelical movement which evolved over these decades, we must first understand the power structure in the United States. Some strands of the movement, of course, owe little to the play of US politics, but there is no doubt that the main impact of evangelical Christianity, throughout the world, and over the past sixty years, has been from forces originating in the United States. It is important to understand why this is so, and also how such a provenance has shaped the wider world, culturally, politically, economically, and militarily. For the play of US Christianity, in its many guises, most definitely has had an enormous and complex influence.

A useful starting point, then, is to see the United States as being governed according to the interests of a coalition of corporate business, professional political and military elites, and a compliant

church establishment. Politics are largely a matter of ensuring the continued dominance of this coalition, and as far as possible the expansion of its power—politically, economically, and militarily. The church establishment, by and large, is geared to the same objectives, but has the distinctive role of promoting the religious ideology which both cements the nation and ensures its compliance with the ruling interests. This arrangement is reflected in both national and foreign policy—the United States is an imperialist nation, and its foreign policy reflects this.

The four main elements of the coalition are not homogeneous or united in themselves. Each has its own hierarchy of power, its own internal tensions and conflicts of interest. But in each there is a predominant set of interests, a focus of power, which works together with its counterparts in the other three sectors in a mutually-reinforcing way, ensuring the survival, and the expanding power, of the coalition as a whole. The largest corporations, the upper levels of government, the generals, and the religious leaders all support one another's existence.

The businessmen, the politicians, and the generals usually have little difficulty getting along—largely because their cooperation and their power have been thoroughly institutionalized. The religious sector is rather less predictable. It is the most "democratic" sector, in that popular participation is a defining characteristic of its structure, and it is the least institutionalized in the formal sense that the other three are institutionalized. It is also somewhat fraught with a historic disagreement over the true relationship between God and man. However, within the diversity that marks the religious sector, there exist clear concentrations of power and influence which derive to a large degree from intervention and management by those in the rest of the coalition—for the compliance of the religious sector is a prerequisite of power and of the expansion of power. In particular, given the nature of religious faith (especially its potential as a means of social control), it is absolutely essential to the health of the ruling

establishment that religious life is co-opted into the institutional framework of the state—as an organ of control domestically, and as a tool of expansion overseas.

The arrangement is hardly new. For thousands of years, the church has followed merchants, kings, and generals. The implications of the American order, however, are unprecedented. Never before has such a coalition succeeded in becoming global in its reach and power.(2) Never before has an imperialism had the capacity to destroy the earth—and leaders who are comfortable with the prospect. Never before has an imperialism been so relentless and so effective at denying itself—even as it plunders the very outer limits of existence. And never before has humanity's belief in God been turned into a global battlefield, pitting banker against peasant, in the service of a single superpower.

This book is concerned with the religious dimensions of such a state of affairs. In particular, it tries to identify the way that religion has been incorporated into America's expansion into the non-Western, non-Christian world—the way that religious leaders have been recruited to serve the secular ends of Empire, at the same time as they pursue their own self-professed spiritual mission. In other words, it tries to examine the links between the four sectors of the ruling coalition in the United States, and the way these links are translated into the evangelization process now being pursued by Western (and largely American) mission agencies throughout the non-Western world.

Harvesting the World

The acts of men generally benefit from some kind of divine blessing. The post-colonial Americanization of the globe is no exception. The process needed a strategic plan—one which united the key elements of expansion, coordinated all forces, provided all necessary resources,

a clear guiding philosophy, and an effective division of labour, and which also clearly identified the forces of the enemy as well as effective ways of neutralizing them. The divine blessing had to cover it all—the entire strategic plan had to have theological support.

The Americans' strategic plan has been largely defined by their economic and political ambitions, and the religious and philosophical inspiration behind these ambitions—with a little help from available technology. Broadly, there are four factors which need accounting for:

(1) The expansionary momentum behind U.S. capitalism—the need for resources, markets, and labour, and the political/military guaranteeing of these;
(2) The ideology of individualism, of private profit, and of a U.S.-style Protestantism; and the elaboration of institutions which guarantee these;
(3) The globalizing of the process, of the enabling institutions, and of the enabling technology;
(4) The elimination, or the co-opting, of opposing forces—whether these are ideological, religious, military, or derive from some other local (and therefore non-U.S.) interest.

The neo-evangelical movement can only be defined and understood in terms of its role within this wider secular context. The elaboration of its "theology" has been, more than anything else, a reflection of the response of a politically-co-opted Church to the needs of its secular masters and sponsors. The nature of its expansion has been defined partly by these needs, and partly by the expanding abilities of technology. Beyond its home borders, its local expression is a reflection of the geopolitical priorities of the sending power, and the minimum necessary accommodation with local realities, wherever it may be expedient to compromise in some small way, rather than obliterate.

If the four centuries following 1550 had been centuries of European expansion, the century following the Second World War was to be above all an American century. Of all the global projects contrived by Western political and economic theorists and Western technocrats, the most influential (for good or bad) were those predicated on U.S. hegemony—the Marshall Plan, the United Nations, the Bretton Woods Agreement, the Cold War, the Domino Theory, the Trilateral Commission, the rise of the multinational corporation and the W.T.O., and the "War on Terror". And the same applies to the evangelical Christian movement, which in many crucial respects developed according to the same rationale that guided all other strands of U.S. expansionism.(3)

Defining The Enemy

As with earlier crusaders, the neo-evangelicals need a clear definition of the enemy, so they can marshal their resources, on agreed battlefields, with a single-minded vigour. There may be some dispute about the definition, depending on biblical interpretation: to some, for example, Sodom and Gomorrah reside equally in San Francisco and in the biblical Middle East, and retribution for the sins of Nineveh extends to the destruction of the World Trade Center. But such biblical fundamentalists are relatively insignificant politically, much as are anti-Zionist rabbis in Israel.

Nevertheless, there remains some flexibility in how the enemies of Christendom are defined, depending on which group is interpreting the Bible, and what secular predilections they bring to bear on their definition—in particular, what battles they wish to justify. Such inter-splicing of biblical rhetoric and temporal motivations gives the Bible a somewhat elastic personality as a guide to Christian perceptions. Is the jungle being felled because it belongs to Satan's darkness—or does it belong to Satan's darkness because a corporation wants to clear it and grow beef? Are tribal pastoralists or swidden farmers being

evangelized because they are lost and benighted—or are they lost and benighted because they offend our sense of economic order?

Any modern evangelical would be incensed by the idea that scripture is a convenient validation of temporal urges, and that his enemies are defined accordingly. The dilemma of the Western evangelical is that his history proves this to have been the case—and with a vengeance. No culture so demonized the stranger as Christian culture; and no culture was as cynically utilitarian in its abhorrence of the stranger as Christian culture. The conquest of the Americas makes this amply clear. The slave trade—with a death toll of at least 15 million—was a professedly Judeo-Christian project. The annihilation of America's natives was too. Across the continent as a whole, up to 100 million people died as a result of the European invasion. North of Mexico, more than 20 million natives were eliminated to make way for Christian settlement, in an extended holocaust which was justified in holy terms at the highest levels: Cotton Mather's "pernicious Creatures" were, to George Washington, wolves and beasts who deserved "total ruin"; Thomas Jefferson advised his government to "pursue them to extermination"; Andrew Jackson ordered his soldiery to root them out from their "dens", and to kill the women and their "whelps"; and Theodore Roosevelt advocated the extirpation of the native population and expropriation of their lands. And time after time, the victims of the process were mythologized as the irredeemable enemies of Christian good.

Such mythology, of course, was balm for the white Christian conscience, and it allowed a free rein to brutality. In 1864, Colonel John Chivington supervised the massacre of some 200 Cheyenne and Arapaho at Sand Creek. An ordained Methodist preacher, Col. Chivington joined his men in an orgy of scalping, disemboweling, rape, and pillage against mostly women, children, and old people—with particular attention to the extraction and display of sexual organs and unborn children. Chivington's efforts led, eventually, to an apology from his Church: 132 years later, in 1996, the United

Methodist General Conference expressed regret for the Sand Creek massacre, and apologized for "the actions of a prominent Methodist." But for scores of similar actions, in the course of the "Indian Wars", no such contrition was expressed: indeed, after the massacre of prisoners of war at Wounded Knee, those responsible were even awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.(4)

And in more enlightened times, it seems, little has changed. During the war in Vietnam, a different peasant enemy—coloured, non-Christian, and politically obstructive—was mythologized in much the same way. To one of the men in charge—General William C Westmoreland—the Vietnamese were mere "termites". But it was Westmoreland's chief, the Presbyterian elder and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, who encapsulated the meaning, to the modern Christian West, of war as an industrial pursuit against inferior—but difficult—beings:

> "Look," said McNamara, "we dropped three to four times the tonnage on that tiny little area as were dropped by the Allies in all the theaters in World War II over a period of five years. It was unbelievable. We killed—there were killed—3,200,000 Vietnamese, excluding the South Vietnamese military. My God! The killing, the tonnage—it was fantastic! The problem was that we were trying to do something that was militarily impossible—we were trying to break the will; I don't think we can break the will by bombing short of genocide."(5)

And so it was little wonder that the massacre of some 400 women and children around My Lai was, for many observers, hardly worth noting—such massacres, after all, were considered routine. And so too, now, in Afghanistan, and Palestine, and Iraq.

All evangelicals still agree, of course, that their true enemies are the Devil, his works, and his principalities. And most would also agree that non-Christian religions—Islam, Animism, Hinduism,

Taoism, and Buddhism (in that order)—are manifestations of evil. The demonization of Islam has its own special history (and is treated elsewhere in more detail). As for their distaste for animistic beliefs, Christians have long held that Man must subdue Nature to the glory of God—and not that Nature, and Her gods, must subdue Man. To this extent, as with the fear of Islam, the definition of evil is as much a cultural and socio-political matter as it is a purely biblical one.

And so the definition of Satan's works and principalities has always been very much a self-serving and secularly-inspired one, reflecting the fear (or the intolerance) of all that is unattainable, forbidden, hard to get, or hard to understand—and all that gets in the way of material ambition. It is hardly surprising, today, that the Devil's territories tend to coincide with the regions of special strategic interest to the United States, and the regions of the world which are least Americanized. These comprise the Middle East and the Central Asian Republics (important oil producers), China and Russia (important trading blocs, but politically unreliable), Southeast Asia (timber and mineral producer, important trading bloc, and political shatterbelt), Africa (mineral and oil producers), and the Balkans (political shatterbelt). In all cases, the weak position of Western Christianity combines with ideological dispute (especially over the degree of state control over economic life) and strategic concerns relating to resources, trade, and geopolitical influence.

To most evangelicals, of course, the Devil's workplace may be found pre-eminently in unevangelized regions—for these, by definition, are regions hostile to the gospel, by reason of both religion and state policy. To help direct prayer towards such regions, the evangelist Luis Bush coined the term "the 10:40 Window", which locates the unevangelized parts of the world (excluding the Americas) by a simple map reference. Thus, the area between latitudes 10 degrees North and 40 degrees North includes virtually all Muslims, Hindus, and Buddhists, and the vast majority (97%) of the population of the 55 least evangelized countries, which for the most part forbid or

strictly limit evangelical entry. In other words, 95% of the population of the "10:40 Window" are unevangelized—and to that extent live in ungodly darkness.

These "unreached people" have long been the prime target of evangelical efforts, and over the past sixty years most of the mission debate has been about how best to bring this majority into the Christian fold. A prime result of the debate has been the gathering of a vast databank of intelligence defining, in fine and local detail, just who the "unreached" are. The exercise was very much a joint one, between evangelicals and the U.S. intelligence agencies, reflecting a common understanding of just who the enemy is. The public presentation, understandably, was that of a purely religious endeavour—an endeavour symbolized by the Joshua Project, created in 1989 to coordinate the data collection, and to classify the Unreached People groups according to degree of "ministry need". The research was necessary, said the organizers, because: "Just as Joshua sent out the spies to survey the land and report on its condition before the children of Israel moved out in obedience to God's command, many more missionaries and Christian workers are finding research information invaluable in laying their plans."

To a large extent, however, both the definition of the enemy, and the mounting of the evangelical assault, owe more to secular considerations than to religious ones. Two reports, emanating from within (or close to) the U.S. Government, make this very clear. In 1956, the U.S. Government set up the Special Studies Project, a seven-panel planning group directed by Henry Kissinger and funded by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. One of the main aims of the project was to examine how best to expand U.S. control over Latin America. The group's report was published in summary form in 1961 as "Prospect For America: The Rockefeller Panel Reports". It identified the key elements of hegemony as first and foremost the use of military elites, and secondly cultural subversion—including through the church:

"In order to win the battle for hegemony over conscience, it is necessary to begin by exposing Latin America to the influence of the fundamental values of the American way of life, doing so through controlling the traditional apparatus of socialization of civil society: the family, the school, the church."

Nineteen years later, a Republican group called the Council for Inter-American Security produced a sequel to the Rockefeller Report entitled "A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties." Originally called "Inter-American Relations, Shield of the New Order, and Sword of the U.S. Ascent to World Power", it was also known as the Santa Fe Report. This second report went much further than the Rockefeller Report—in publicly calling for the use of evangelical sects, specially created by "psy-ops" agencies like the C.I.A., to destabilize Latin American society, undermining both leftwing movements in general and liberation theology in particular.

The Santa Fe Report came hard on the heels of the Jonestown massacre (1978), and the victory of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua (1979). Three years later, Full Gospel convert Rios Montt of Guatemala, in the name of Christian propriety, presided over the massacre of well over 100,000 Mayan Indians—while in Nicaragua the U.S.-funded Contras also spread terror in the name of religion. In 1982, in the village of San Francisco del Norte, the Contras kidnapped, tortured, and killed much of the population—praising God and singing hymns as they did so. When asked why they did this, a local pastor explained: "they don't massacre people ... they massacre demons, and these people are demon-possessed: they are communists ...(6)

Until the early nineties, at least, the enemy would be defined largely in such terms. The enemy was the Satan of communism, leftwing insurrection, liberation theology—especially in poor peasant regions of the world, such as Latin America, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Indonesia. Over much of the tropics, however, the Devil also took more elemental form—the very landscape itself, the vast and

sparsely-populated tropical rainforest, was the enemy which had to be subdued. This, of course, was nothing new: for centuries, imperial expansion had attacked the rainforest and its tribal inhabitants—now, though, the onslaught was being launched by the world's largest and richest industrial power, and consecrated by the world's most well-armed religion. It would become a symbolic encounter.

For, now, as the "global economy" overheated, it was pitted against the most fragile of all ecological limits, and the most vulnerable of all the world's societies. It was an unequal encounter, and a catastrophic one. In Latin America, the work of two powerful men added to the symbolism: Nelson Rockefeller, the oil millionaire turned foreign policy advisor, laid out plans for the secular attack; Cameron Townsend, the evangelist turned cultural anthropologist, set in motion the spiritual crusade. In the process, the destruction of the South American rainforest accelerated dramatically, to cope with the demands of timber companies, mining companies, and fast food producers—and tribe after tribe of the forest population was decimated by the inroads, not just of timber men, miners, and farmers, but of North American Protestant missions like Townsend's Summer Institute of Linguistics, Missionary Aviation Fellowship, and the New Tribes Mission. The tropical forests were one of the last outposts of Satan, of the enemies of Christian progress and Christian safety—for industrialists like Rockefeller, Weyerhauser, and LeTourneau, no less than for believers like Cameron Townsend.

It was a theme repeated in countless missionary stories. The terrors faced by evangelist Gladys Rusha, in Southeast Asia, were typical:

> "The jungles of Borneo successfully harbour the Devil's hideouts and cover effectively his dens of darkness and cruelty ... Majestic trees tower to the sky; endless swirling rivers wind their way chaotically through masses of snake-infested greenery; forbidding

rocks lurk in river beds and low-lying swamps .... Dyakland is not attractive.

"... superstitions, taboos, and animistic customs have been implanted by invading races. Satan is well entrenched. His purposes here, as everywhere, are destruction and death. Nature is often one of his weapons."(7)

For Western Christians, the limits of ecology have long been regarded as enemies to be subdued. It has been the same with the mountains and the deserts. Historically, of course, the deserts (now the source of most Western oil) have long been associated with another sworn enemy of Christian civilization—that of Islam. Now, as with the world's tropical rainforests, so too with its deserts. The long crisis of global capitalism has fixed minds more firmly than ever on the dry lands of the Middle East, North Africa, and Central Asia—and on their Muslim inhabitants.

"From its center in the 10:40 Window," says evangelist Luis Bush, "Islam is reaching out energetically to all parts of the globe; in similar strategy, we must penetrate the heart of Islam with the liberating truth of the gospel."

And the head of the International Coalition of Apostles, C. Peter Wagner, is clear that there can be no compromise with the evil of Islam. The United States is in difficulty in Iraq, says Wagner, partly because it was assumed that Allah was just another name for the true God:

"The reality," says Wagner, "is that Allah is a high-ranking demonic spirit who has come to steal, to kill, and to destroy .... Political correctness may attempt to deny this spiritual reality, but it only plays into the hands of the evil principalities and powers over Babylon .... The question is: Who will rule? The kingdom of darkness or the Kingdom of Light?"

And Billy Graham's son Franklin, leader of Samaritan's Purse, agrees. "We are in a Third World War," said Graham. "... It's a global fight against Islamic fundamentalism."(8)

Chapter Two

MARSHALLING THE FORCES: The Evangelical Movement 1945 to 2005

Introduction

THE period 1945 to 2005 may be seen as a kind of Second Christian Reformation—a period of major revision and redirection for the global Christian Church. During these 60 years, a number of evolving strands within the Church were drawn together by a group of dedicated reformers, and a recognizably new global Christian order emerged.

(a) *The Rise of Dominionism:* First and foremost, the period saw the elaboration and spread of the doctrine of "dominionism" amongst evangelicals—especially American evangelicals. Dominionist theology owed a great deal to a handful of theologians centred on Fuller Seminary in Pasadena, including Donald McGavran, Ralph Winter (who founded the United States Center for World Mission, out of Fuller College, in 1976), and C. Peter Wagner, dean of Fuller's School of Theology. The essence of "dominionism" was not new. Simply put, it taught that Man was obliged to incarnate the Holy Spirit on Earth, in order to realize His Great Commission: in other words, God is not sufficient or sovereign—He requires human actions, human plans and programmes to accomplish the building of His Kingdom on Earth. The Dominionists extended such ideas into elaborate theories

of "spiritual warfare", a "New Apostolic Reformation", and the coincidence of U.S. patriotism with true Christian virtue. Dominionism, in particular, consecrated the link between evangelization and secular U.S. expansion into non-Christian regions—with the export of capitalism and the assertion of U.S. military might jointly being given divine justification as instruments of the Great Commission. The theology caused dissent to the Left and the Right in the Christian movement—some objected to the association with imperialism, others objected to the distraction from "true evangelism", or the personal search for salvation through the one-to-one spreading of the gospel. But of all recent developments in Christian theology, "dominionism" has been by far the most successful.(9)

(b) *The Growth of the "Shepherding" Movement:* Closely related to the rise of Dominionism was the spread of the Shepherding Movement, which evolved out of 1960s Pentecostalism, and groups like the Jesus People.(10) Associated in its early years with U.S. evangelicals like Bob Mumford, Lonnie Frisbee, and Ern Baxter, shepherding was also closely linked to Paul Yonggi Cho and the rise of the South Korean "cell church", and to the emergence of groups like Campus Crusade, Youth With A Mission, and the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship. The movement is primarily concerned with the construction of networks both for proselytizing and for maintaining tight control over large congregations. It is characterized by aggressive expansion, a high degree of authoritarianism, and a focus on small groups (or "cells") which, under the sponsorship of a central church, seek to infiltrate political and civil bodies in order to "take dominion" over a nation. Although denounced by many (including FGBMF's Demos Shakarian) the shepherding movement became a template for organizational reform in the wider neo-Pentecostal Movement. The innovation of "apostolic authority" was introduced—most notably by C.Peter Wagner and his Global Harvest Ministries—to help direct the process.

(c) *The Move Towards Ecumenicalism:* Most reformers were aware of the need to reach at least a tactical accommodation between competing denominations. Accordingly, the period in question was marked by numerous efforts at inter-denominational co-existence, if not merger. Pacts were reached between Catholic and Protestant(11); between evangelicals and non-evangelicals; between Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians—and between these on the one hand and Assemblies of God, Pentecostalists, and Anabaptists on the other; and between many of these and groups recognized as cults rather than churches—such as the Latter Day Saints and the Seventh Day Adventists. In addition to this accommodation, the Christian Church absorbed some of the style (though not the belief) of various New Age, mystical, and "Eastern" religions—such as Buddhism, Sufism, and Transcendental Meditation—as well as a veneer of "eco-Christianity".

Much of this accommodation, of course, resulted from the need to co-opt the tools of the competitors. But it reflected one of the most important trends in the post-war membership of the Church—the growing majority of non-Western adherents.

(d) *The 'Vietnamization' of Mission:* The increasing "indigenization" of non-Western Christianity was also an end in itself, for since the end of formal colonial rule over Africa and much of Asia, the West had in any case sought to maintain its cultural influence through the transfer of much of its Church's visible presence out of white hands and into coloured ones. This indigenizing took two forms: the use of local missionaries to evangelize within their own cultural communities, or communities within proximate sub-cultures; and the use of non-Western missionaries cross-culturally, to avoid putting white faces (especially American faces) in situations where they were a liability—Koreans into Central Asia, Indians into Bangladesh, Latin Americans into the Middle East are common examples. A major boost to this process came with the Indian Government's expulsion

of missionaries in 1977: by 2005, India had become the largest cross-cultural missionary source in the world—with more than 44,000 missionaries associated with over 500 agencies, working either outside of India or outside their home culture.

(e) *The Americanization of Mission:* The Second Reformation was marked by the accession of U.S. influence over the influence of the old European powers in the development of global Christianity. This Americanization had a number of important implications for the ideology and the structure of the movement: first, there was a swing away from traditional Episcopalian and Methodist forms of worship towards Baptist, Congregational, and Pentecostal ones; second, the evangelical movement became inspired and managed according to U.S. business management methods—in particular, mass marketing, public relations techniques, efficiency targets, and corporate structuring; and thirdly, of course, world evangelization was brought firmly into the U.S. political and economic power complex—which gave it access to virtually unlimited funding, and shaped its secular orientation. It was an Americanization, however, that reflected something of the diversity of its source—evangelicals from the Sun Belt or the Mid West, for example, might operate rather differently to Episcopalians from the North East.

(f) *The Zionist Connection:* Partly because of this Americanization, evangelical Christian politics became even more strongly identified with the Zionist cause and the politics of Middle Eastern oil—an association which severely affected attitudes to Islam, and evangelical policy towards Muslim countries. Christian Zionism, with its claim of scriptural support for a Jewish state, already had a long history. The movement was formalized during the 1970s and 1980s with the Likud Plan for fostering evangelical support (1978), and the creation of the International Christian Embassy in Jerusalem (1980). For the last 40 years, the interests of the U. S. elite and the Zionists have coalesced in many respects, and throughout most of the world—and as a result, the evangelical Christian view of the Jews' place in the Second Coming

(that they must convert or die) is something rarely discussed. Even areas of economic and political competition (for example, Israel's huge arms trade with Asia), are taken as opportunities for useful strategic trade-offs. And, perhaps above all, there is considerable Judeo-Christian collaboration on the question of handling Muslims.(12)

(g) *The Corporatization of Mission:* Americanization shaped the ideology of the evangelical movement in a fundamental way. But it also fundamentally redefined the movement's organizational and technological structure, giving it an energy, a focus, and an efficiency in global reach that had certainly been lacking before the 1970s. Firstly, evangelization benefited immeasurably from being harnessed to global information technology networks—allowing the creation of a missionary data network as efficient and as immediately accessible as that of global money markets. Secondly, the movement benefited from the development of a corporate and multinational structure of control and organization which was strongly integrated both horizontally (between agencies of like function and outlook, though perhaps different geographic location) and vertically (between agencies of different, though interdependent, function). And thirdly, large donations of corporate money both facilitated development of certain favoured missions, and influenced the strategic direction they took. This "corporatization" of the evangelical movement merely reflected trends in wider capitalist growth in the Western world—but it also reflected the importance of the religious sector to the well-being of the rest of the imperial coalition.

The Corporate Funding Fathers of Mission

Nelson Bunker Hunt (Oil)
Pew and Glenmeade (Oil)
Rockefeller (Oil/finance)
Weyerhauser (Timber)
LeTourneau (Earthmoving equipment/ jungle clearance)
Mellon-Scaife (Publishing, Banking)

Crowell (Quaker Oats)
James A. Jones (Military contracting)
Lilly (Pharmaceuticals)
Ford (Automobiles)
Warren Buffett (Retailing)
Bill Gates (Electronics)
Conrad Hilton (Hotels)
McLellan (Insurance)
Pierre Omidyar (Internet)
Coors (Beer)
De Vos (Retailing)
Prince (Automobile accessories)
S Truett Cathy (fast food)
Tom Monaghan (fast food)

This list covers a very diverse range of evangelical investment. N.B.Hunt, LeTourneau, and Weyerhauser were strongly involved in Central and South America with groups like SIL/Wycliffe Bible Translators (with Hunt also funding Campus Crusade for Christ, the "Jesus Film", and the Council for National Policy); the De Vos and Prince families (both from West Michigan) have a history of promoting far right evangelical groups—together with a wide range of neo-conservative political groups; Pew and Rockefeller foundations are prolific and wide-ranging—especially in media, education, and research; Gates is especially involved in Africa, and in funding AIDS treatment in cooperation with a number of major drug companies and charity groups.(13)

(h) *The Rise of Christian Fund Management:* At the same time, a large charity consultancy business has evolved to connect corporate donors with congenial charities through which they can offset tax, gain market advantage, and earn good publicity—the most notable names in this business being Generous Giving (founded by the McLellan Foundation in 2000), Crown Financial Ministries (1985),

and Ronald Blue's Excellence in Giving. The market is huge: the annual value of NGOs is an estimated one trillion dollars—mission agencies alone have $400 billion in liquid assets. "Humanitarian relief", the main cover for evangelization, attracts such funds easily—in 2005, international giving by U.S. foundations amounted to over $3.8 billion, 49% of this going to "global health", a statistic much helped by the involvement of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. The modern evangelical movement, as a component of the capitalist system, is deeply concerned with raising, managing, and spending money – and with the theological justifications for doing so. And over the past 25 years the nexus has tightened. "Marketplace ministries" large and small proliferate, basing much of their activity on the link between getting rich, justifying getting rich, and financing the biblical "Great Commission". "Prosperity teaching" also maintains that the poor are poor because there is not enough Christian charity—expanding Christian charity, amongst other things, would eliminate the need for progressive taxation. For many evangelicals, the theological justification for Christian fund management resides in the scripture's call to transfer wealth from the Gentiles to the "Chosen People": opening the gates to this transfer is one of the professed functions of the "New Apostolic Reformation."

The First Thirty Years

In the decades following World War II, the most important issue facing the Church was the issue of evangelization. The growth of communism and of anti-colonial movements threatened the authority of the Church just as much as it threatened the West's secular authority. The response of the more traditional Protestant establishment was symbolized by the merger of the International Missionary Council (founded in 1910) with the World Council of Churches—giving the W.C.C. a missionary arm for the first time. But such efforts of the establishment (both liberal and traditional) were completely over-shadowed by events in the United States.

Here, the formal coalition of conservative (and evangelical) Christians was widened in 1942 by the creation of the National Association of Evangelicals, which brought the Assemblies of God, Pentecostals, and Anabaptists into alliance with the Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians, thus vastly increasing the united popular base of the U.S. evangelical movement. Then, in 1945, the overseas activities of such churches were given much better co-ordination with the creation of the Evangelical Fellowship of Missionary Agencies. The first Intervarsity Missionary Congress was held in Urbana the following year, and in 1948 the evangelical International Council of Christian Churches held its World Congress on Evangelism to, among other things, counter the apparent move towards ecumenicalism in Western Christianity.

But the American evangelical movement, during the 1940s, also benefited dramatically from two rather less public developments. One was the founding, in 1934, of The Family, or The Fellowship, a covert association close to the White House, focusing on bringing together, ostensibly for prayer meetings in the White House, influential private and political individuals bound by religious faith and common secular purpose. The Family's founder, Abraham Vereide, was thus the catalyst for the creation of one of the most important, and one of the most sinister, secret societies in American history—a group which created, or helped to create, many of the essential networks between U.S. and foreign elites required for the expansion of empire. The other development was linked to this, and gave to Henrietta Mears, a specialist in Bible School teaching, a critical role in laying the basis of the modern evangelical movement.

Mears had founded a prayer and study group to promote discussion about evangelical strategy in school and college campuses. It was called The Fellowship of the Burning Heart, and it brought together some of the most important players in the coming Second Reformation. One member was Richard Halverston, who became chaplain to the United States Senate, and was influential in setting up

the tradition of Prayer Breakfasts for top politicians in and around the White House. Other members included J. Edwin Orr, an Oxford University theologian; William Bright, founder of the powerful Campus Crusade for Christ group; Harold Ockenga, President of Gordon Theological College; Charles Fuller, founder of the Fuller Theological College (one of the prime engines of the Reformation); and Billy Graham.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Billy Graham was certainly one of the most influential figures in the world evangelical movement. Both his theology and his populist evangelical approach accorded well with the dominant political mood in the United States, and he had ready access to both the country's presidents and its media owners—both Henry Luce (of Time/Life) and William Randolph Hearst regarded Graham as a fellow crusader for the American Way.

In 1950, Graham founded the Billy Graham Evangelical Association, which produced one of the main evangelical journals (Christianity Today) and directed various radio, television, and film ministries—and was also a catalyst for the creation of many of the mission agencies which sprung up in subsequent years. Graham's vision was strategic and long-term, and he made special efforts to cement an ecumenical sense in the evangelical movement: thus, he established links with the more traditional World Council of Churches, attending their meetings at Evanston, Boston, Geneva, and New Delhi in 1961—in the same year, the W.C.C. absorbed the International Missionary Council as part of its shift towards a more active evangelical role in the world. Graham also sought an ecumenical accommodation with the Catholic Church—and the 1965 Vatican II Ecumenical Council represented a move similar to that underway in the W.C.C.

The Billy Graham Evangelical Association was pivotal during the 1960s in laying the groundwork for the most sustained and defining exercise of all in the Second Reformation—the Lausanne Movement,

which began in earnest in 1974. Graham's association funded the preparatory World Congress of Evangelism in Berlin in 1966, and was the moving spirit behind regional evangelical conferences in Singapore (1968), Minneapolis and Bogota (1969, and Australia (1971).

In the year that the Billy Graham Evangelical Association was established, another key player in the evangelical movement began life. World Vision, founded by a Youth for Christ missionary working in Korea, Bob Pierce, was to become, by the end of the millennium, the single most powerful evangelical agency in the world. Already, during the 1950s, the links between these three mission agencies—World Vision, Youth for Christ, and Graham's association—revealed the growing integration of evangelical groups towards a common purpose: the director of many of Billy Graham's crusades, Ted Engstrom, for example, would become president of both World Vision and Youth for Christ during the 1960s, would be co-founder (with Ed Dayton, of Fuller College) of the organization that pioneered integrated missions research and data-basing—Missions Advanced Research and Communications Center, a subsidiary of World Vision—and was for 11 years the editorial director and general manager of Zondervan Publishing, the biggest Christian publishing company in the United States.

Henrietta Mears' prayer group was especially notable for the number of academic theologians amongst its membership. J. Edwin Orr became one of the Second Reformation's leading theorists; Harold Ockenga ran Gordon Theological College, and was co-founder in 1942 of the National Association of Evangelicals—and in 1947 Charles Fuller founded the Fuller Theological Seminary, with the object of putting fundamentalist evangelical thinking on a more scholarly basis, to bring clearer focus to long-term strategic planning for the movement.

By 1965, Fuller College had evolved into a three-school organization encompassing Schools of Theology, Psychology, and World

Mission (the last drawing in Donald McGavran's Institute of Church Growth.) Over the next 30 years, it became the largest multi-denominational seminary in the world, and established a reputation of embracing both conservative and liberal attitudes to theology, attracting many of the most important scholars in missiology to its staff. In particular, most of the key theorists of the Second Reformation, at some point, were on its faculties. For example:

(1) Donald McGavran was founder of the Church Growth Movement, dedicated to the "quantitative growth" of churches throughout the world, across all cultures. He was responsible for developing much of the thinking behind "contextualization", or the packaging of the gospel in culturally-appropriate ways to suit particular mission fields—and he directly inspired many of the new Dominionist mission groups, such as Discipling a Whole Nation (or DAWN), whose founder acknowledged McGavran's role in creating a mission "based on Biblical models of systematic occupation of the land." McGavran argued that it was pointless to convert individuals—instead, Christianization of a nation involved "the prior Christianization of its various peoples as peoples"

(2) Don McCurry, one-time Fuller Professor of Islamics, became director of the Zwemer Institute for Muslim Studies in 1979, and then Dean of the Ibero-American Institute for Cross-Cultural Training, which was mainly concerned with preparing Latino evangelists to work in societies where white Caucasians were regarded with suspicion.

(3) Ralph Winter, who went on to found the United States Center of World Mission, and is currently Chancellor of the William Carey International University, is one of the main strategists behind the evangelization of "unreached people groups"—and a key Dominionist thinker who redefined the Abrahamic Covenant to claim that God gave the Christian Church a "secret mission" to take control and finish His work on Earth.

(4) C. Peter Wagner, for over 30 years Fuller Professor of Church Growth, went on to found the Wagner Leadership Institute, and (with Ted Haggard) the World Prayer Center—perhaps the one institution most responsible for defining and propagating the strategy of "spiritual warfare" or "prayer warfare", designed to bring down demonic principalities with concentrations of prayer sufficiently strong to move God. Wagner would later found Global Harvest Ministries, linking with AD2000 Movement leader Luis Bush to develop the AD2000 United Prayer Track focus on the "10:40 Prayer Window". With considerable inspiration from the Latter Rain Pentecosalists and the "Kansas City Five", Wagner also contrived the New Apostolic Reformation, founding the International Coalition of Apostles (which first met in Singapore in 1999) as a key engine of leadership evangelizing.

(5) J. Wimber, founder of the Vineyard Movement, worked with Wagner on Power Evangelization and Church Growth, and in the early 1970s helped to popularize the ideas of the South Korean Pentecostal evangelist Paul Yonggi Cho—in particular his "cell church theory". Wimber, influenced by the Latter Rain movement, was also a founding father of the New Apostolic Reformation.

(6) Harold Ockenga was President of Fuller Seminary from 1947 to 1954 and co-founder (with J. Edwin Orr) of the National Association of Evangelicals and its international counterpart the World Evangelical Fellowship. Ockenga was chairman of the board of Billy Graham's journal Christianity Today, and helped—with funding from the Sun Oil Co. owner J. Howard Pew—to bring about the merger of Gordon Divinity School and Conwell School of Theology in 1969. A Presbyterian, Ockenga was Director of the Christian Freedom Foundation, and a member of Truman's Clergymen's Mission to Europe in 1947.

(7) J. Edwin Orr taught theology at Oxford, and was a Fuller professor between 1966 and 1981. A friend of Abraham Vereide,

founder of The Family, Orr chaplained the Hollywood Christian Group (1949-51), was advisor to Billy Graham, and helped create Campus Crusade for Christ.

Indeed, a list of Fuller staff and alumni reads like a directory of personnel engaged in the Second Reformation: John Haggai, founder of Haggai Leadership Institute; Ted Haggard, co-founder of the World Prayer Center; George Otis Jnr, who developed the theory of "spiritual mapping"; Jay Grimstead and Dennis Peacocke, founders of the Coalition on Revival; Robert Grant, founder of Christian Voice (a Heritage Foundation journal) and chairman of the American Freedom Coalition; William Bright, founder of Campus Crusade for Christ, who was a key strategist in the campaign to elect Christian conservatives to the U.S.Congress; evangelists James Lee, Ed Silvoso, and Leighton Ford (an influential Lausanne theorist, and director of World Vision); Gary Haugen, founder of World Vision's International Justice Mission; and Rick Warren, founder of the global P.E.A.C.E. campaign.

Fuller drew upon an even wider body of thought than this for the production of one of its most important evangelical tools—the course on Perspectives on the World Christian Movement. This course, originally designed by Ralph Winter at Fuller, was adapted by Jay Gary at the U.S. Center of World Mission, and presented as an aid for evangelicals to understand the fundamentals of ecumenism and, more specifically, Dominionist theology and strategies.(14) It was ostensibly broad-minded, but its agenda was much narrower than the sum total of its contributors. And this, basically, was Fuller's role. In the words of one observer: "Fuller, like Billy Graham and the glossy Christianity Today, competed for the souls of liberal intellectuals ... Fuller never meant to alter the fundamentals of Christian conservatism. It meant to smarten up those fundamentals, rub elbows in the marketplace, send into the world an educated class who could hold their own in a worldly debate."

Of all the theological colleges in the United States, Fuller was the most important seed-bed for Second Reformation thinking, for two main reasons. Firstly, it embraced the social sciences (especially linguistics and anthropology) and made them efficient servants of evangelicalism—and in the process vastly improved the utility of the evangelical movement to the secular intelligence-gatherers. Secondly, it brought together people from across a wide theological spectrum, and a range of liberal to right-wing politics—and it fostered a particular mix of evangelical activism in which the majority right-wing Dominionists ruled and more liberal sentiments were given a cosmetic role.(15)

This was to be the case throughout the Second Reformation. If presentation of the gospel amongst the suspicious "unreached" of the globe focused the evangelical mind on packaging, so did presentation of the entire process, for whatever audience—for the process was in many ways a strongly subversive one, masking interests (especially secular interests) which recoiled from too much publicity.

All the main actors in the proceedings kept a very careful eye on the presentation of one most critical truth—that defining symbiosis between secular interests and religious interests that characterized the upper reaches of United States society, and the playing out in world affairs of those interests. It was clear to all concerned that the post-World War situation was fraught with problems for Western elites, and that a thorough-going reorganization of political, economic, and social priorities was essential—it was axiomatic, given this, that the supporting religious establishment had to be reformed for the sake of the whole. Fuller's role in this, during the first 30 years of the Reformation, was the same as that of most other theological seminaries in the United States; it was the same as that of Billy Graham and his crusades, of most evangelical associations in the country, of most evangelical agencies. It was, most simply, to aid America's post-war revival, and its continuing expansion in a much changed world, by bringing religion up to date.

Up to the early 1970s, much of the work done by evangelical reformers was either reactive or early foundation building. Apart from the developments already mentioned, there were a number of other events of note during the period: a number of significant evangelical agencies were founded—the World Evangelical Fellowship, Campus Crusade for Christ, and the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship began in 1951, Youth With a Mission began in 1960 and Haggai Institute in 1969; Brother Andrew began his bible-smuggling activities in Eastern Europe in 1955; and two important new versions of the Bible were published—The New English Bible in 1970, and The Living Bible in 1971.

There were still considerable stresses and strains within the evangelical movement, but a lot of ground had been laid for coexistence between rival groups, and for the promotion of a common agenda which recognized that such groups could actually maintain a rather fruitful division of labour, if not in the interest of their individual narrow causes, at least in the interest of the greater cause of global Americanization.

And this common agenda would be hammered out, laboriously, over the next three decades, with the Lausanne Movement as its key component.

The Next Thirty Years: Lausanne and Beyond:

There has always been a divide, in the U.S. evangelical movement, between fundamentalists, conservatives, and ecumenicalists. At times, this divide has played a role in changing public policy (in civil rights and education, for example), and sometimes it has revealed aspects of government policy that most would have preferred hidden (as in the case of links between SIL/WBT and the CIA in Latin America and Southeast Asia). Certainly, the fundamentalist churches (including many Southern Baptists, Pentecostalists, and Charismatics) are more

closely aligned than non-fundamentalists with the more extreme forms of patriotic dominionism , and therefore with a more radical rightwing political agenda. Many in the movement saw that such an identity of views, too freely expressed, only worked against the Church, and for that matter against the rest of the ruling coalition. Likewise, in the non-Western world, Western (and especially North American) evangelical Christians had come to be associated with an increasingly unpopular imperial presence which could only diminish the chances of Christianity (and Western culture generally) successfully penetrating other societies.

The Lausanne Movement, in large part, was a response to this need to give western Christianity a better image. (16) In this respect, it stands respectfully opposed to the wilder behaviour of some of the fundamentalist missions, and their political and corporate sponsors. To this extent, there is a danger of seeing the kinder face of Lausanne as the sign of a radical and substantial departure from the more aggressive imperial ways of the past—with fundamentalism contained and marginalized. But this is not what happened.

The Lausanne Movement certainly represents a major reformation. But it must be stressed that, while it may have improved the image, the movement in fact served mainly to strengthen and expand the influence of the West, and of the United States in particular. Lausanne, indeed, was a public relations triumph—for both the evangelical movement itself, and for the rest of the coalition.

The Lausanne Years: A Chronology

1973	Egypt-Israel War; start of the "Oil Crisis"
1974	International Congress on World Evangelization (Lausanne I)
1975	U.S. defeat in Indochina

1976 The Good News Bible published; U.S.Center for World Mission founded

1977 Homogeneous Unit Principle Consultation (Pasadena)

1978 Gospel and Culture Consultation (Willowbank, Bermuda); North American Conference on Muslim Evangelization (Glen Eyrie); New International Version of the Bible published; the Jonestown Massacre.

1979 Iranian Revolution; Zwemer Institute for Muslim Studies founded; Simple Life-style Consultation (U.S.); "Jesus Film" commissioned.

1980 Simple Lifestyle Consultation (International), London; Consultation on World Evangelization (Pattaya); Commission on Cooperation in World Evangelization (Billy Graham)

1981 Council for National Policy founded by Tim LaHaye; Reagan assassination attempt.

1982 Invasion of Lebanon, Sabra and Shatila massacres; Consultation on Relationship Between Evangelization and Social Responsibility (Grand Rapids).

1983 Guatemala Indian massacres under Full Gospel convert Rios Montt; Global Mapping International founded.

1984 International Prayer Assembly for World Evangelization (Seoul, arranged by Vonette Bright), to establish international prayer networks.

1985 Consultation on the Work of the Holy Spirit and World Evangelization (Oslo)

1986 Third Consultation on Jewish Evangelization (UK)

1987 International Conference for Younger and Emerging Christian Leaders (Singapore).

1988 Leadership '88 (US Conference for Younger and Emerging Christian Leaders)

1989 Global Consultation on World Evangelization II, Manila; Kaleidoscopic Global Action Plan; AD2000 and Beyond—United Prayer Track, "10:40 Window".

1990	Moscow Congress on Evangelization
1991	Serbian assault on Bosnia; First Iraq War; Global Harvest Ministries founded by C.P.Wagner.
1993	First North American Consultation on Spiritual Mapping, and First International meeting of the Spiritual Warfare Network (Seoul)
1994	Rwanda Massacres
1995	Global Congress of World Evangelization(Seoul); Joshua Project I
1997	Joshua Project List
1998	World Prayer Center opened; Coalition on Revival formed.
1999	International Coalition of Apostles first meet (Singapore)
2000	Amsterdam Conference on Evangelization (Billy Graham); Great Commission Roundtable (merger of WEF, AD2000, World Vision, and Lausanne Movement For World Evangelization.
2001	First Global Day of Prayer; Bush's "Faith-based Initiative"; Lausanne Chinese Congress on World Evangelization (Kuala Lumpur); 9/11
2002	Global Development Alliance launched; Afghanistan attacked.
2003	Second Iraq War
2004	Forum on World Evangelization (Pattaya); Make Poverty History campaign begun
2005	Second Global Day of Prayer; ONE campaign begun; Warren's Global P.E.A.C.E. campaign begun .
2006	Lausanne Young People's Forum (Kuala Lumpur); Bono attends National Prayer Breakfast at the White House, and RED campaign begun.

As a church movement, Lausanne was mainly a coming together of conservative and ecumenical evangelicals. Indeed, the movement

never intended to embrace the entire evangelical movement. Many fundamentalist churches kept well away, unable to accept the ecumenicalism, and the compromises (however cosmetic) with other religious and cultural traditions. And they could not accept the more subtle approach to proselytizing that the Lausanne debate favoured. Besides, many churches opposed the Dominionist theology of the Lausanne participants—with its emphatically socio-political form of activism, and its interpretation of the work of the Holy Spirit and the Great Commission. But the fundamentalists themselves were not united, and for many the disagreements with Lausanne were more over style than substance.(17)

The Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization embraced most of the coordinating bodies for evangelical research: the Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies, the World Evangelical Alliance, the American Society of Missiology, the Evangelical Missiological Society—as well agencies such as TEAM, SIM, Operation Mobilization, Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, and Wycliffe Bible Translators. Over the years the membership changed, often reflecting developments in technology as much as anything else —thus Gospelcom.net.alliance became a member, as well as the International Conference on Computing and Mission (formed in 1989), and International Christian Technologies. Throughout the process, though, certain prime movers remained active: one of the most important was Billy Graham and the Billy Graham Evangelical Association, another was World Vision—particularly through its Missions Advanced Research and Communications Center, which was founded in 1967 by Ted Engstrom and Edward Dayton (of Fuller College), very much with Lausanne's research needs in mind. For both Lausanne I (1974) and Lausanne II (1988), MARC was a crucial founding agency.

The First International Congress on World Evangelization, held in Lausanne in 1974, brought together some 2,700 participants from over 150 countries. From this came the Lausanne Covenant, stating

the shared basic values of the movement, and the establishment of a lengthy future agenda which defined the main issues for debate in a series of Consultations which would extend well into the 1990s.

The Movement's brief can perhaps best be understood as a response to five main imperatives: cultural, political, military, socio-economic, and infrastructural.

Chapter Three

THE EVANGELICAL STRATEGY

THE CULTURAL IMPERATIVE

BY definition, evangelization was cross-cultural. The problem facing the Lausanne participants was to make an impossible dichotomy seems not only possible but real: in other words, to separate religion from culture, and package the Christian gospel as a product which could be equally at home in the cultures of Tajikistan, Burundi, and Cambodia. The theologians of Fuller Seminary and the affiliated US Center for World Mission were especially concerned with the dilemma, and cast their deliberations around a number of key concepts such as the "homogeneous unit principle", "people groups", and "contextualization". In particular, such theologians saw the need for an evangelization that subverted entire cultures, entire nations, entire communities. The old evangelism was dead—ideologically, culturally, and as a geopolitical stratagem:

> "Since the human family, except in the individualistic West, is largely made up of ... castes, clans, and peoples, the Christianization of each nation involves the prior Christianization of its various peoples as peoples ... extracting individual converts out of their cultures,

> no matter how pagan, should not be done. Whole people groups should come to Christ within the context of their own cultures."
>
> (McGavran, *The Bridges of God*)

The means of this was "contextualization"—that is, addressing the "particular needs" of a particular culture group in order to present the gospel within the individual context of that group. The approach involved applying a wide range of disciplines—from social anthropology to psycho-neural linguistics—to the task of clearly identifying the specific cultural contexts (including religion, language, food habits, means of livelihood, rites of passage) of some 10,000 cultural sub-groups, in order to better evangelize amongst such groups, through insertion of appropriately-trained agents and properly translated texts. Much was made of the need to maintain customary life-styles amongst the target groups, including if necessary religious ritual, and to allow the development of local forms of Christian worship.(18)

In the various Consultations on the question of culture, deliberations made much of the idea that cultural diversity was a gift of the Creator which He intended to preserve and celebrate. God, it was argued, had revealed Himself to all cultures long before the gospels had been given them, and He had left certain "redeemable qualities" in every culture as pathways to Himself. Because of this, a degree of cultural diversity (properly determined by Christian anthropologists) could be celebrated. A homogeneous church, it was concluded, could never be complete in itself if it didn't reflect the kind of heterogeneity implied in the Bible—in the vision of the " redeemed community", for example, mentioned in the Book of Revelations (Revelations 7:9ff.)

None of the theory was particularly new. The concept of "homogeneous unit", for example, was simply the sociologists' "in group": a section of society in which all members have some characteristic in common—ethnic, social, educational, vocational,

or a combination of these and others. And the "homogeneous unit principle" is hardly more than an acknowledgement that "people like to become Christians without crossing racial, linguistic, or class barriers." What was new was the enthusiastic adoption of the social sciences for evangelical purposes—a trend best exhibited by Fuller Seminary, but also well represented by institutions such as Rockefeller's University of Chicago (which also spawned the journal Economic Development and Cultural Change) and the U.S. Center for World Mission.

The problem that half a dozen Consultations had to focus on was presented as a simple matter of culture conflict. It was defined at the 1978 Consultation in Bermuda as:

> "How can I, having been born and raised in one culture, take the gospel from Scripture which was written in other cultures, and communicate it to people in a third culture, without either distorting the message or rendering it unintelligible?"

In fact, the problem was rather more subtle than this. It was obvious to all of those involved in Lausanne that the proceedings had a rather larger agenda than mere religion. Clearly, there was a case for evangelism which was culturally sensitive. Equally clearly, there was a need to co-opt a growing number of legitimate indigenous movements—movements usually based strongly on traditional culture, and sometimes on traditional religion as well. For such movements tended to be hostile not just to Western Christianity, but to Western business, Western political influence, and Western cultural influence as well. For most people at Lausanne, even if they did not talk about it very much, it was crystal clear that Christian evangelism was just a part of a much wider—and a necessary —imperialism. In the new "post-colonial" era, more than ever, the colonization of non-Western cultures needed the handmaidens of Anthropology and the Church to help smooth the way.

It was hardly surprising that the "homogeneous units" which most exercised minds at Lausanne were those of the Muslim world, and an extensive sub-text of the "contextualization" debate emerged to try and deal with the thorny problem of converting Muslims. For Muslims, a Contextualization Scale was produced to indicate degrees of Christian penetration—from C-1 (the friendly chat) to C-6 (the creation of "messianic mosques" for converts to secretly worship in, and accept Jesus Christ as their Saviour)—and the tactics for such penetration were exhaustively discussed. Accordingly, the Glen Eyrie conference on Muslim Evangelization, in 1978, was followed by the establishment of the Zwemer Institute for Muslim Studies, and a number of agencies and programmes geared specifically to evangelizing amongst Muslims.(19)

But the debate also gave much greater impetus to the wider effort of researching and data-basing the world's "unreached people groups" in general.(20) Of the world's 12,000 ethno-linguistic groups, some 3,500 were seen as key targets for evangelization, insofar as fewer than half of the group were "likely to have heard the gospel." The evangelists' goal sounded deceptively simple: "The gospel for every person and a church for every people." It was a formula crowded with problems, not least the magnitude of the research required. Clearly, one of the main incentives for developing new mission technologies was the huge task of recording the detail needed for effective cross-cultural missionizing.

In 1989, as part of the AD2000 and Beyond initiative, such activity was given added focus with the creation of the Joshua Project, which set out in encyclopaedic fashion to define and classify the world's cultural groups according to their degree of Christianization—that is, their degree of "unreachedness"—with detailed descriptions of the cultural, religious, and socio-economic character of each group to enable more effective missionizing.(21) The research was global, and supported by the C.I.A. A particular focus was northern India.

Northern India was considered by the AD2000 organizers to be a key region for attention. It was where modern evangelism began, with William Carey, some 200 years ago. But it has immense significance today as one of the most heavily populated regions of the world and one of the most poverty-stricken parts of India (the Hindi-speaking belt has a literacy rate of just 30%, and infant mortality is double the national rate). It is also the heartland of Hinduism, with its 33 million gods, and a region that includes some of the most troubled parts of India in terms of religious and ethnic conflict: there are a number of major concentrations of adivasi (or tribal, and largely animistic) population; there is the largely Sikh Punjab; and there are important Muslim populations in Rajasthan, Delhi, and (especially) Kashmir. Besides, the proportion of Christians in the North India population is the smallest in all of India—just 0.5%.(22)

The first five years of the decade following 1989, in India as elsewhere, were years of intensive research, and the preparation of intelligence for setting up a grassroots networking structure ("a network of networks") that could exploit the cultural and religious lay of the land for the purposes of achieving Christianization, and a more effective Western penetration in general. The structure included evangelical agencies such as World Vision, Gospel for Asia, and the Southern Baptist Convention, U.S. government agencies, and local partners (some wittingly involved, like the Indian Missions Association, and some—like the Indian Postal Service and Immigration Department—unwittingly). The very minimum of the explicit objectives was to establish a "pioneer church-planting movement within every ethno-linguistic people of more than 10,000 individuals by December 31st, 2000."(23)

In the case of India, three key acronyms described the strategy:

(1) PLUG (the target): People in every Language,
Urban centre, and Geographic division;

(2) PREM(the techniques): Prayer, Research, Evangelisation, and Mobilization;

(3) NICE(how the work is done): Networking, taking Initiative, using Evangelists to spur existing Cohorts in their efforts to convert people.

It would be fair to say that the effort of collecting intelligence on the world's myriad cultural groups and sub-groups must have been the most exhaustive anthropological (or pseudo-anthropological) project in history. It involved the work of many trained Christian anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, linguists, and computer programmers, as well as that of hundreds of thousands of evangelical workers in the field, some semi-trained in anthropology, but the vast majority with only basic skills in cross-cultural understanding. In total, more than 600 evangelical agencies of U.S. origin had workers in foreign fields, collecting data on religious ritual, folklore, food habits, marriage ceremonies, means of livelihood, sexual relations, patterns of schooling, day-to-day courtesies, hierarchies of authority, patterns of illness, dress and personal decoration, home design and ornament, and so on ....

... And over the years, all this was fed into the mission computers —in Dallas, Pasadena, Colorado Springs, and elsewhere—and processed into manuals for cross-cultural outreach, guides for prayer, guides for workers in the field, publicity for fund-raising, and a huge centralized data bank for missiological research in scores of Christian colleges. The exercise was enormous, and sustained in earnest from the mid-sixties (around the time World Vision's MARC was established) up to the turn of the Millennium. Most of the data, of course, fed into the Lausanne process in one way or another, as support for the various deliberations in the various Consultations. But it had other uses too.

In particular, it formed the basis of the many targeted prayer campaigns—such as the AD2000 United Prayer Track focusing on the "10:40 Window". It provided the data on which the "Spiritual Mapping" project was devised in the early 1990s. And it gave substance to the Joshua Project List of unreached peoples—a vast on-line directory of cultural profiles, covering all the world's unevangelized and semi-evangelized peoples. In addition, the entire research effort was closely watched by—and results were freely available to—the Western World's main intelligence agencies, in particular the C.I.A..

Such agencies had, after all, been covert sponsors from the beginning. In the effort to penetrate, and to subvert, many hundreds of target cultures, they shared a common cause with the evangelical Church. And both needed the anthropologist. In the words of the filmmaker Jason Coppola:

> "Anthropologists are the most powerful weapon against individual cultures today. Much more powerful than F-16s and M-1 tanks .... You need to know a people before you decide what can corrupt them, what can be used to confuse, divide, and conquer them. The strongest defense against occupation is an undivided, culturally rooted people, but empires don't like that .... A country can rebuild itself after an invasion, but it is much more difficult to rebuild a culture after it has been invaded." (24)

Even Christ Was Not Honest: Lying and Mission

There has long been a debate, among evangelicals, about the biblical merit of lying. Muslims are allowed the act of *taqiyya*, or being untruthful under duress of persecution; Christians, too, would recognize the right to self-defence by telling a lie. But evangelization is a different matter—the object is to go forth, spread the holy word, and recruit followers. The object of lying, in this case, is hardly to

avoid persecution and save one's skin. It is, quite simply, to gain an audience. Or a market.

Some evangelists still believe that the best way to win a convert is to set a pure example. If that means obeying the government, as Paul counseled, and not dissembling, then so be it. But such personal evangelism is a dying art: the concern, today, is with evangelization on an industrial scale—mass conversions and social transformation of entire communities, whole states, for quick political results. And such evangelization is hardly a wholly spiritual pursuit. It never was, of course, but the room for utilitarianism is rather larger than it used to be.

It could be argued that deception is the main tool for the modern missionary. And that it has to be—because no self-respecting individual, community, or state could possibly acquiesce at the kind of transformation he intends to impose. Much of the transformation, certainly, can be effected by the straightforward pressure of the market, or through advertising, education, and popular culture. Or even by military force. But the ultimate prize of a person's soul is rather harder to get. And as the soul is the key to a great deal more, obtaining it requires a little more discretion than the market allows.

In evangelical circles, a great deal of research has gone into the business of subterfuge. Over the years, the specialty has evolved its own jargon, with terms like "people group", "homogeneous unit", and "contextualization" giving an academic gloss to what effectively is cultural warfare. Indeed, parallel to the academic discourse there is always that heartfelt cry against the Devil, his Servants, and his Principalities, and for the need to wage spiritual warfare against the powers of darkness. Exercises of "contextualization", in other words, are really no more than battle plans in the war against unbelievers and their ways of life. The missionary contextualizes a people in order to destroy it.

All cultures, all religions, are thus contextualized. But it is the people of the Muslim world who are most eagerly engaged. In the United States, there are at least three universities offering degrees specifically devoted to converting Muslims; there are dozens of training schools for Muslim world evangelists; there are at least twenty agencies concerned with mobilizing Latin American and other non-Anglo Saxon operatives for work amongst Muslims. The business of converting Muslims has become the fastest growing branch of the evangelical movement—from a few hundred specialist missionaries in 1992, such work involved well over 3,000 by 2002. And deception is the essence of the task.

Rick Love is a professor in the Muslim Studies program at Columbia International University.(34) To underline the biblical pedigree of deceit, he quotes the example of the apostle Paul, in the Book of Acts, telling Timothy to get circumcised before proselytizing amongst the Jews. Love, of course, denies he is recommending the step for working amongst Muslims, but the implication is not lost on his students: to be a good evangelist, you must be prepared to deceive, and sometimes be inconvenienced in the process.

The deception begins with seeking to enter the target country. Many countries—both Muslim and non-Muslim—do not welcome Christian proselytizing, and so most missionaries will qualify in a camouflage job (a teacher, dentist, or civil engineer), or else enter as tourists on short-term mission. Officially, there are over 100,000 trained missionaries in countries other than their own: most of these are legally in target countries for purposes other than that of missionizing. Many of these are non-Anglo Saxon proxy workers, from South Korea, South East Asia, India, Africa, and Latin America —and indeed, if "migrant workers" from such regions were taken into account, the true number of evangelizing expatriates in the world would most likely be nearer 200,000. In addition, in any one year, around 300,000 people travel abroad, under the wing of a mission agency, to combine evangelizing and holiday-making .

Once the missionary is admitted, the deception continues—in terms of job, and in terms of daily cultural life. The mission school formula for "tent-makers" is guilefully simple:

> "Find another pretext to be in the country. Build friendships with the locals. Once you've developed trust, then it's time to try to gain new believers. But don't reveal your true purpose too early."(35)

In practice, of course, situations vary tremendously, and missionary agencies train their operatives for a vast range of jobs, and in a wide range of cultures. Professional missionaries are likely to be qualified in a local language, and adept at assuming the cultural trappings appropriate to the place they work in: they will wear local dress, learn to eat local food, learn the local rites of passage; in Muslim countries, they will wear the veil, prostrate themselves during prayer, even fast during Ramadan. Everything is "contextualized", right down to the evangelical literature for handing out—tracts are graduated, from the initial "fishing" tract which does not mention Christ, to the advanced advice on forming a secret church.

The frontline missionary does not operate in a vacuum. Indeed, the guile is thoroughly and intricately institutionalized. The village missionary/aid worker is supported by a network of agencies both locally and globally—and all are ostensibly secular, or at least largely so. There are transport agencies, research agencies, medical agencies, computer service agencies, and a host of other supply and support bodies with which field workers are integrally connected. All such groups, whether openly Christian or not, present themselves first and foremost as secular workers, in aid and relief, in government service, in private institutions such as schools, hospitals, and commercial businesses. The real purpose for the presence is carefully obscured, or else acknowledged with a dismissive shrug: "Of course we are Christian—but we do not proselytize. We merely set an example, and if others choose to follow, there is nothing we can do about it." In any case, the evangelical worker in a foreign land is significantly protected

by the punitive pressure of the U.S. Government—particularly as expressed in the 1998 International Religious Freedom Act, and the sanctions (including trade embargo) available under this to ensure protection of Christians.

Essentially, then, evangelization is a process of multi-layered deception: deception about the actual intent, deception about the line between religious and secular, deception about the actual lines of accountability and responsibility. And intrinsic to the whole process is the fact of plausible deniability. Much as the CIA has traditionally operated, and in the same way that multinational corporations have long evaded sovereign liabilities such as taxation, evangelical bodies now employ a complex sleight of hand which allows for plausible deniability whenever it is needed. This is achieved in a number of ways: a confusion of subsidiaries, a concealing of accountability, the use of non-Western proxies, and the deliberate use of misleading names for proselytizing bodies, and outright lying. It is a deception meant to weather even the direst adversity.

In January, 2008, an aid worker called Cydney Mizell was killed, together with her Afghan driver, after being abducted in Kandahar.(36) Cydney Mizell was an English teacher at Kandahar University, taught embroidery to local girls, and "helped women start projects to generate income for their families." She worked for an NGO called the Asian Rural Life Development Foundation, which—according to its own publicity—"supported food-for-work projects, development of irrigation systems and rehabilitation and health-care centers." A fluent Pashtu speaker, who would claim to belong to the Alakozai tribe when asked of her ethnicity, Cydney Mizell "was wearing a burqa" when she was abducted. She was also a Baptist missionary, and a graduate of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Her employer, Asian Rural Life Development Foundation, had its origins in an agency in the Philippines called the Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Center. ARLDF's International Director, Jeff Palmer,

apart from being director of the Mindanao body, is also the executive director of Baptist Global Response—which was established in 2006 by Southern Baptist leaders as an "unofficial entity" to manage "world hunger funds" for the SBC's International Mission Board. Headquartered in Singapore, Baptist Global Response's board members are all Southern Baptists, and it also has offices in Nashville Tennessee, where SBC has its headquarters.

The SBC International Mission Board denied that there was any relationship between them and the ARLDF. Cydney Mizell, in other words, was not a Southern Baptist missionary. She was an English teacher, who taught girls embroidery, and who helped women generate income for their families.

And so, in one way or another, even in hostile countries, the evangelical presence is assured. Politically, economically, culturally, there will always be conditions which will allow the door to be opened. The deception remains, however, and that causes unease: in the words of one missionary trainee at Columbia International University: "The line between guile and withholding information is very, very thin." And so Christians, being Christians, must find a biblical justification. The key, for evangelicals, is to establish that Jesus Christ Himself sometimes told untruths, sometimes withheld the truth, and sometimes approved of others doing the same.

And this, say the missionary trainers, is abundantly clear from the Bible. In the words of Rick Love: "Jesus, after all, did not raise his hand and say 'I swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.'" Indeed, there are numerous references in the Bible which seem to justify telling untruths, or deceiving in the service of some kind of moral purpose. In the Book of Matthew (Matt. 7:8), for example, Jesus says, "Do not ... cast your pearls before swine." In other words, to ensure their own protection, He advises followers not to be too candid, not to reveal their hand to those who are either indifferent or hostile to the Truth. Jesus was a "fisherman" who said

things (often in parable) that would "fish out" those eager to know—and this, says the manual, is the proper model for a missionary to follow.

In a similar vein, during the interrogation by Pontius Pilate (John 18: 19-40, and also in Matthew, Mark, and Luke), Jesus avoids incriminating Himself by carefully fielding Pilate's suggestions that He may be a dangerous revolutionary. As a result of Jesus' adroit responses, He is found not guilty. Self-preservation, in other words, justifies withholding the truth—especially if you have a higher purpose in life to protect.

The story of Rahab, who lied about the Hebrew slaves to save their lives, is usually presented as a good example of justifiable deceit against the enemy for a higher purpose—even if it is acknowledged that Christ's praise is for Rahab's faith, rather than her lies (Joshua 2: 1-14; Hebrews 11:31). Likewise, the story of the lying steward, who makes amends by falsely revising his dishonest book-keeping, is commonly presented as support for the virtue of deceit—in this case, it is said, Jesus commended the steward for wisely preparing for his future, rather than for his lies. (Luke 16: 1-9)

And the missionary, of course, will say that his work is doing nothing, if it is not wisely preparing for the future.

THE POLITICAL IMPERATIVE

The entire Lausanne Movement, by its own definition, was political. But as with the matter of culture, it was difficult to conduct a proper debate when some of the key assumptions were either impossible to prove, unstated, or both. Basically, the Lausanne evangelicals claimed they wanted a just and more equal Christian world order:

> "Jesus' proclamation of the good news of the Kingdom of God is the basis and content of mission," wrote Edward Dayton and David Fraser. "God is bringing about the extension of His rule over an unruly world. The Missio Dei is the Kingdom of God and the integrating aim of mission."
>
> (Mission and the Church, in "Perspectives ...") (25)

In other words, Christians had a socio-political duty, as well as a spiritual duty, to transform the world according to the vision Lausanne articulated. And the proclamations at Lausanne certainly seemed to come from the noblest of intentions. In the words of the Manila Manifesto, issued at the Second International Congress on World Evangelization:

> "The proclamation of God's kingdom necessarily demands the prophetic denunciation of all that is incompatible with it. Among the evils we deplore are destructive violence, including institutionalized violence, political corruption, all forms of exploitation of people and of the earth, the undermining of the family, abortion on demand, the drug traffic, and the abuse of human rights. In our concern for the poor, we are distressed by the burden of debt in the two-thirds world. We are also outraged by the inhuman conditions in which millions live, who bear God's image as we do ... True mission ... necessitates entering humbly into other people's worlds, identifying with ... their struggles for justice against oppressive powers."

But how should Christians respond to such evils? And in particular, how should Western Christians respond when they occur in other people's countries? Insofar as Christianity was the path of moral rectitude, being (or becoming) a true Christian was obviously a step in the right direction—for such evils as injustice, inequality, and institutionalized violence were not part of the Christian way. In non-Christian situations, then, evangelization was an essential part of the solution. The Western Christian, to this extent at least, had a responsibility to intervene.

But for evangelization to have a socio-political effect, it had to be appropriately targeted. The Western Christian had a dual duty of care—to minister to the poor and suffering as a Samaritan, and to seek out the Devil's principalities (which are the root of the problem) and confront them with the power of Christ. This might be done partly through targeted prayer, and partly through subverting the Devil by converting his agents—that is, the people of influence, the leaders who could bring the entire people, the entire nation, to God. Thus, it would seem, the organization of the evangelical movement depended on three key networks—for global prayer, intensive leadership training, and care and relief. And if they could be efficiently combined, so much the better.

On the face of it, Lausanne seemed to have a heart for the poor and the underprivileged. Of course, the world of the rich and comfortable had a Christian duty to do charity, at the very least – and the participants certainly struggled with their consciences on this and many other issues. However, there was a parallel political universe which most chose not to discuss—an uncomfortable truth which was implicit and decisive throughout the entire proceedings, and without which the Lausanne exercise would never have taken place.

The Lausanne Movement was an attempt to do two irreconcilable things. It set out a programme of Christian witness to the world, and it sought to legitimize, and facilitate, the imperialism of the world's dominant power. It was an age-old contradiction, but it had never been played out on such a global scale.

The initiative, of course, lay not with the Church but with the country's political elite. America's leaders knew that religion was one of the main keys to the art of strong government. Religion was a visceral thing: most people professed it, most people feared it—and most people claimed it as their guide. And so it was a wonderful, and a perilous, tool—it could be used to mobilize people, to pacify people, and as a cover for anything you wished to conceal. One of the most

important, and most delicate, tasks of government was the task of managing religion as an agent of political power.

In the U.S., from the beginning, the Protestantism of the early settlers was embedded in both the framework and the ethos of government—just as it also helped define both economy and society. Although Church and State were constitutionally separate, in reality they were completely intertwined in countless ways, at all levels of government, and in all fields of activity. There were tensions—the Civil War demonstrated this—but gradually, at the heart of government, a consensus emerged on how to use the power of religion in government, both as a means of social control at home, and as a tool of foreign policy.(26)

This nexus between politics and religion tightened significantly after World War II, in response to four main developments: (a) the rising insecurities in a late capitalist society; (b) the challenge to the U.S. system posed by communism and nationalism; (c) the rise of the Sun Belt states in U.S. politics; and (d) the growing need to rationalize a wider world too complex to understand. Underlying all these, however, was the simple imperial imperative: of powerful people wishing to remain powerful, over an empire which was both expanding and growing more and more precarious as it did so.

What emerged, from the mid-forties onwards, was the biggest, most complex, and most wide-ranging covert administration the world has ever known. It was a network that served the world's most powerful people, and which played a major role in determining both the domestic and foreign policy of the U.S.Government—as well as government policy in a host of dependent countries. In particular, it was the main medium through which the role of religion was defined in American foreign policy.

The table which follows indicates the growth of this network from the mid-1930s. The elements of the structure had begun to

appear before this—from establishment bodies such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, to a diversity of pro-Fascist groups which evolved during the '30s. But it was only from the mid-40s that a coherent network of hidden government took its modern shape.

The Rise of the Christian Right in America

1935 The Family founded in Seattle by Abraham Vereide
1936 Buchman's Oxford Group renamed Moral Rearmament
1942 Office of Strategic Services, Voice of America
1943 American Enterprise Institute
1944 The Family moves to Washington, renamed International Christian Leadership
1946 Research and Development (RAND) formed by U.S.A.F.
1947 Central Intelligence Agency formed Mount Pelerin Society formed around Frederik Hayek's ideas.
1950 Committee on the Present Danger
1951 American Zionist Committee (f. Isaiah L. Kenen) Asia Foundation
1958 John Birch Society
1959 American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (out of A.Z.C.)
1961 Hudson Institute (Herman Kahn, ex-RAND) Christian Broadcasting Network (f. Pat Robertson)
1967 Eagle Forum (f. Phyllis Schlafly)
1971 Liberty University (f. Jerry Falwell)
1972 International Christian Leadership renamed The Fellowship Foundation, and its leadership decentralized.
1973 Heritage Foundation (f. Paul Weyrich & Anthony Fisher, with Coors) Institute of Noetic Sciences (f. E. Mitchell & Paul N. Temple)
1974 Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (later

	called Free Congress Foundation)
	American Christian Cause (f. Robert Grant)
1977	Focus on the Family (f. James Dobson)
	Cato Institute (f. Charles G. Koch)
	Manhattan Institute for Public Policy Research (f. Anthony Fisher)
1978	Christian Voice
	Regent University (f. Pat Robertson)
1979	Moral Majority (f. Falwell & Weyrich)
	Claremont Institute
	Concerned Women for America (f. Phyllis Schlafly)
	Leadership Institute
	National Prayer Committee (f. Vonette Bright)
1981	Family Research Council (f. James Dobson)
	Council for National Policy (f. Tim LaHaye)
1982	National Center for Public Policy Research (f. Amy Ridenour)
1984	Competitive Enterprise Institute (f. Fred L. Smith Jr)
1985	Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation
1987	Christian Coalition
	Media Research Center (L. Brent Bozell III)
1990	Acton Institute for the Study of Religion & Liberty
	Middle East Forum (f. Daniel Pipes)
1997	Project for the New American Century (Wm Kristol & Robert Kagan)

The elements involved were many and various: there were official bodies (such as the C.I.A.) set up expressly to perform officially deniable activities; there were official think-tanks (such as RAND) and quasi-official think-tanks (such as the Committee on the Present Danger); there were private right-wing pressure groups (such as the Claremont Institute) and private far-right pressure groups (such as the John Birch Society); there were family foundations (such as the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation), corporate foundations (such

as the Asia Foundation, jointly developed by Californian businessmen and the C.I.A.), single-issue lobbyists, Christian colleges, Zionist groups, and Christian Zionist groups. There were even groups (such as the Institute of Noetic Sciences) studying the overlap of New Age spirituality and Christianity, and the political and military implications of this.

But all these bodies shared a number of crucial attributes. They were all connected, through interlocking directorships and funding, with one another – and with the U.S. Government, often via the C.I.A. They were all Judeo-Christian in their driving belief—even those groups not explicitly Christian—and they were strongly Republican (although right-wing Democrats coexisted here and there). They were all strong advocates of the free enterprise system, and of U.S. global supremacy—culturally, politically, religiously, and militarily. And they were all, to a greater or lesser degree, committed to achieving this supremacy by both force and subversion wherever necessary.(27)

And it was here that the role of religion was especially valuable. Throughout the system—from The Family of Abraham Vereide and its White House fraternity, right down to the foundation-funded aid worker in some foreign field—the medium of religion was both explicitly and covertly exploited. It was a wholly predictable arrangement. The American System, after all, was the interaction of political, economic, cultural, and religious elements. And so these same elements had to be combined if the system was to be promoted and defended. In particular, secular interests—often harsh, often seemingly oppressive—required the balm, and the distraction, of the spiritual to ease their impact. Besides, the secular ideals of the United States—especially the ideals of individualism and the free market—were inextricably bound up with theology: Protestantism, after all, gave the American Way its philosophical support as well as its moral legitimacy. But it was a sometimes hostile world, and then it didn't pay to be too honest about your intentions. In which case, a missionary was better than a businessman.

The modern use of religion as an arm of politics can be dated to the founding of Abraham Vereide's anti-socialist organization The Family in 1935.(28) Modeled on the ideas of Frank Buchman and his Oxford Group, The Family's key objective was to create a godly elite of wealthy and powerful people, who could impose "God control" over the nation and thence over the world. Vereide's group was the first substantial element of the structure which emerged around the White House specifically to promote the cause of America's Christian imperialism. By bringing together businessmen, politicians, and military men, at the highest level of government, and ostensibly for the purpose of praying together, The Family established religion as a thoroughly institutionalized cover for the management of political power. Religion, after all (so long as it was properly defined), had all the elements of efficient authoritarianism—firm social control, strict moral sanctions, obscure accountability, theocratic rule, mass organization. And the formula worked.

The Family's network was soon extensive and politically well-connected, with members in the Congress, the Senate, the Judiciary, and the White House. It also drew in members of Henrietta Mears' Fellowship of the Burning Heart (begun in the 1940s)—including Billy Graham, Bill Bright, J. Edwin Orr, Harold Ockenga, and Richard C. Halverston. All these men, in their respective ways, had a facility with religion as a political tool: Billy Graham, from the start of his crusading, was closely connected to the White House (especially presidents Eisenhower, Nixon, and Reagan), to the big media bosses (both Hearst and Henry Luce promoted Graham enthusiastically for his anti-Communism); and to corporate money (Chase Manhattan, RCA Corporation, and Mutual Life, for example, supported his 1969 Madison Square Gardens crusade.) Richard Halverston, Chaplain to the U.S. Senate between 1981 and 1995, had been a founding member of Henrietta Mears' group, as well as the Associate Executive Director of International Christian Leadership (or The Family), Chairman of the Board for World Vision, and Advisor to The Navigators—and, with Vonette Bright, had played a big part in making The National

Day of Prayer an official and political act. And as for Bill Bright: next to Billy Graham, Bright was probably the most successful political operator of the Christian Right—leading the world's biggest youth mission for over half a century, and in the process credited with leading more people to Christ than the Apostle Paul.

Like The Fellowship of the Burning Heart, The Family made much of its role as a network for prayer, while at the same time conducting serious—and secret—affairs of state involving the country's top leaders and the leaders (actual or aspiring) of whatever countries were considered strategic to American interests. Its public face, for decades, was the somewhat vaguely defined "National Prayer Breakfast", attended by a bevy of dignitaries from the world's power elites—businessmen, politicians, soldiers, entertainers, and men of religion. But the face was deceptive. For, to an extent, the avowedly Christian personality hid a more worldly agenda. In the words of Wayne Madsen:

> "Religious contradictions among its members were not as important as the drive for political and financial power. The contradiction exists today within the Fellowship: Orthodox Jews, secular-oriented neo-conservative Jews, conservative Catholics, evangelical Protestants, and fundamentalist Sunni and Wahabi Moslems all cooperate to further an agenda that uses Jesus as a de facto corporate logo."

And there are many other networks, similarly discreet if not quite as lofty. One such group is the Council for National Policy, set up in 1981 by Tim LaHaye and funded by Nelson Bunker Hunt.(29) The CNP, which meets three times a year, publishes no membership lists, but it is known that there are some 550 members—varying from year to year, and including people like Philip Anschutz, Richard DeVos, James Dobson, Jesse Helm, Edwin Meese, Oliver North, Pat Robertson, and Bill Bright. The group was especially effective in shaping the politics of the Bush Administration, with members such as Grover Norquist, Gary Bauer and Tom DeLay working closely with

Bush strategists and fund-raisers like Karl Rove and Jack Abramoff. (30)

When the CNP was set up, much was made of it being a kind of Council on Foreign Relations for the Right. The importance of the CNP, according to the Christian website www.seekgod.ca, "does not lie in producing and promoting an ultra-conservative foreign policy agenda – many of its affiliates already do that." Rather,

> "it is considered by its members as a network that encompasses the entire spectrum of rightwing politics. It provides a 'safe' place for representatives of a wide range of ultra-conservative, anti-communist, pro-military organizations, including the executive branch of the White House, to discuss and promote their program." (www.seekgod.ca/cnp.htm)

Like the Family, the CNP provides a focus for the elite in all key elements of the ruling coalition—political, military, corporate, and religious. And in particular, again like the Family, it plays a crucial role in shaping religion as a political force—and thereby in manipulating public opinion in line with foreign and domestic policy objectives. In the words of Paul and Phillip Collins:

> 'The CNP appears to be a creation of factions of the power elite designed to mobilize well-meaning Christians to unwittingly support elite initiatives. The CNP could also be considered a project in religious engineering that empties Christianity of its metaphysical substance and re-conceptualizes many of its principles and concepts according to the socially and politically expedient designs of the elite."(31)

In its own right, the CNP is an important agency of the American Christian Right. But there are many other bodies performing similar and interrelated functions, and all are firmly tied into the CNP's network of influence: thus, the group's membership overlaps with

membership of bodies such as the Heritage Foundation, the Family Research Council, Focus on the Family, the Council for Foreign Relations, the Free Congress Foundation, Chalcedon Foundation, Brookings Institute, Hudson Institute, Manhattan Institute for Public Policy, Empower America, the Christian Coalition, Eagle Forum, and the Fellowship Foundation. The CNP's importance, then, lies less in its particular role than in its place within a much wider and more complex system of vested interests, which has taken many decades to evolve, and which connects the commanding heights of U.S. capitalism with a base of compliant foot-soldiers, a secret parallel administration, and an enabling theology.

A Short History of Campus Crusade for Christ.

During the 1940s, Henrietta Mears set out, with her Fellowship of the Burning Heart, to evangelize America's campuses. Needing leaders for the job, she took in a number of promising candidates for further grooming. Two such candidates were Bill Bright, a young confectionery salesman, and his wife Vonette. The Brights spent some 11 years being tutored by Mears and her fellowship. Then, in 1951, they were given the job of leading a new students' mission called Campus Crusade for Christ—set up and funded by a group of businessmen which included Nelson Bunker Hunt (of Placid Oil) and Wallace Johnson (co-founder of Holiday Inns), who together invested $15.5 million in the venture. Bill Bright was ideal for the job. As a salesman, he had a smooth tongue and an eye for mass market appeal, and he had soon rendered the Christian gospel into a set of quickfire inspirational booklets which then flooded schools and university campuses across the country.(32)

Campus Crusade spread its influence remarkably quickly. One of Bright's particular tasks was to help lead post-war South Korea more firmly into the orbit of Christian America, and—

with the help of Joon Gon Kim—Campus Crusade of Korea was founded in 1958. Bright's early involvement in South Korea was a key factor behind the growth in the country's Christian population, from 4% in 1958 to some 30% in 2007.(33) Back at home, during the 1960s, Campus Crusade was used to help subvert student dissent, partly through the creation of a front group called The Christian World Liberation Front (set up in 1969, but disbanded in the early 1970s when its cover was blown in a magazine expose). In 1974, with the help of Arizona Congressman John Conlan, Bright and a number of other evangelicals set up Third Century Publishers, to produce material justifying the marriage of evangelicalism with rightwing politics—a project which was in time absorbed by Richard DeVos. It was this collaboration with John Conlan that inspired Bright to set up Christian Embassy in 1978—to work more directly with senior politicians and diplomats in countering the threat of leftwing secularism. To the same ends, during the 1980s, Bright promoted the Reagan administration's policy in Latin America, especially in Mexico, Nicaragua, Honduras, and El Salvador—working with groups like YWAM and FGBMF, Bright's Campus Crusade was effective in boosting the "born-again" population of El Salvador from around 3% in the early 1960s to some 22% of the total by 2000.

Like virtually all leaders of the evangelical Right, Bill Bright was a member of the CNP—helping to establish it in 1981, and on its Board of Governors in 1982. Throughout, Bright and the CCC have been staunchly supportive of U.S. military policy—a support manifested in the creation of CCC Military Ministries, and by Bright's endorsement of the Richard Land letter of 2002, which provided the theological justification for the U.S. invasion of Iraq the following year. Bill Bright lived to see the invasion he had wanted: the United States began its bombing in March, 2003; Bill died just four months later.

The U.S. political system is, in theory, a secular system. In fact, it is a strongly Christian enterprise, in inspiration, in intent, and in management. The theology may be hotly debated, but there is no question that America's global role has, for decades, been a self-consciously Christian one. To a large extent, however, the religious crusade merely masks what are in fact brutally secular objectives. This cover has evolved most noticeably over the past 50 years, its elaboration expressed in various official and semi-official reports (such as the Rockefeller and Santa Fe Reports), in the use by the C.I.A. and other arms of government (such as the State Department) of para-church groups; in the rise of scores of foundations, lobby groups, and think-tanks geared to planning and funding political activity both at home and overseas; and—in particular—in the emergence (with the help of electronics) of a tight global network linking the entire system in a way which ensures its smooth functioning... and allows at the same time a degree of "plausible independence."

The rationale which governs the project is simple: if you want an effective control and management network for ruling the world, organized Christianity is hard to beat. The evangelical movement offers a diverse, reasonably coherent, and comprehensively global network of proxy auxiliaries, embedded in their home societies, connected to one another, but spiritually and politically loyal to the imperial centre. In one way or another, the history of the evangelical movement, over the past 60 years, has been defined by this rationale.

But such is the success of the project, perhaps it no longer matters that "conspiracy" is the most appropriate word for it.

Managers and Apostles: Taking Christian Control

Leadership training, for evangelicals, is inspired by three things: corporate management, cell multiplication, and military strategy. For decades, Christian leaders in the United States have been raised

by a training based heavily on corporate management models, more than on strictly political or diplomatic, or even clerical, ones. And many of the most influential preachers in the movement are men who have crossed over from the business world after lengthy executive careers. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that many of the best known agencies concerned with leadership training for evangelicals are those with roots in the corporate sector. Inevitably, too, many of the main organizers of the Lausanne process were from the corporate world. Ted Engstrom, the businessman who organized much of Billy Graham's crusading work, and directed both World Vision and Youth for Christ, was regarded as one of the four most important Christian leadership experts. Bob Burford, of Leadership Network, had moved into preaching from the corporate world. And Peter Drucker, whose reputation was made with a study of the management of General Motors, has been one of the most important inspirations behind the reorganization of the evangelical movement over the past thirty years or so. It was Drucker, more than anyone else, who provided the theoretical basis for bringing the evangelical church formally into the US capitalist system as its welfare auxiliary.(37)

Drucker's contribution originated in his effort to resolve one of Christian capitalism's most enduring problems—that of ensuring that a workforce both increases its productivity and retains an adequate level of welfare. Drucker began by redefining the nature of 'economic man', to account for new technologies and new forms of economic management. The worker was now a 'knowledge worker', working for a 'knowledge society' in which education was the key to higher productivity, through its role in increasing the assessed value of the workers' 'knowledge capital'. In other words, learning was a corporate asset which had to be purpose-driven, precisely measured, and constantly improving.

But this was only possible if the overall quality of human capital was properly maintained—not only its knowledge (and therefore its schooling), but also its physical and mental health, its social security,

and its spiritual welfare. Thus, the economic engine depended upon a congenial (and an enforcing) organizational framework—one which preserved corporate profitability, workforce welfare, and state integrity as interdependent parts of the one thriving concern.

Initially, Drucker stressed the role of the "benevolent corporation", with corporate welfareism replacing government welfareism. But in later years his thinking moved closer to the 'communitarianism' of people like Etzioni—and towards a redefinition of the corporate state, as the "Third Way" of a capitalist society run jointly by the state, the private corporation, and the charitable NGO. Drucker's vision was now of a society driven by three vital sectors: a public sector of effective government (responsible for quality control, especially of human capital); a private sector of effective business; and a social sector of effective community organizations.

For the Christian capitalist, it was a particularly welcome conception. It defined the limits and responsibilities of the state (in such things as public schooling, public health, policing, and religious affairs), and it ensured the corporate sector a congenial political and social framework—drawing together the residual energies of Christian charity, philanthropy, and 'civic-mindedness' in a welfare support system loyal to the ethos of private profit. For U.S. society, the implications of Drucker's ideas were manifold: they helped shape the progress of de-regulation and privatization; they strongly influenced education policy (especially the development of charter schools, outcome-based education, and the international baccalaureate movement); they strengthened the case for Total Quality Control in virtually every field of human activity; and they helped dramatically in transforming organized Christianity in America into an efficient, quality-controlled, and tightly managed corporate concern, amenable to both the structural and the spiritual demands of dominionism.

Drucker's influence is especially evident in the way that churches have transformed themselves according to various models of the

corporate "purpose-driven" formula: Warren's Saddleback empire is a stereotypical example, but there are many others, cell churches, apostolic churches, missional churches—the creations of men like C. Peter Wagner, Bob Burford, and Lyle Schaller. All share the traits of a common philosophical provenance shaped strongly by Drucker, and all involve the application of General Systems Theory—together with computer systems modeling—to the task of completing the biblical Great Commission.

Drucker's ideas fitted well into the stream of Lausanne thinking on evangelical reformation. The United States, after all, needed a theology of corporate Christianity which both the liberals and the Right could accept, and which reinforced its secular view of itself and its ambitions in the wider world. And it needed a theology which also consecrated the task of managing collateral damage as acts of Christian charity—and which gave holy writ to evangelicals seeking open access to those parts of the world's population considered to be "unreached." In these respects, the association between State, Corporation, and Church grew ever closer, and the history of evangelization, over the past 20 years, has been the ever tighter—and increasingly formalized—cooperation of the three partners (with military support) in the American penetration of the non-Western world.

For American evangelicals, Drucker's ideas were reassuringly familiar. But something else was needed. And for this, the work of Ralph Winter and C. Peter Wagner was crucial. Both, for their elaboration of the doctrine of Dominionism, and Wagner in particular for his role in bringing the prayer network firmly into the electronic —and corporate—age.

The use of organized, carefully targeted prayer, as a weapon against the Devil and a tool for transformation, has long been part of the strategy of groups like Haggai and FGBF. Such agencies have always worked at two related levels—penetrating a society through

key sectors of professional influence (academics, lawyers, doctors and nurses, military personnel, for example), and then absorbing recruits into wider networks and thence into global structures of evangelical activity. Intensive networking is crucial to the system, and of particular importance is the formalizing of prayer networks at local, national, and global levels, to connect people in a programmed (and implicitly politically-directed) way—from the White House Prayer Breakfast to prayers in a Singapore boardroom.(38)

For a network to work properly, there had to be a structure of control which would do three essential things: first, ensure that prayer (and all associated effort) was strategically directed; second, ensure that there was a sustained and secure multiplication of influence; and third, ensure that prayer efforts were totally integrated into the secular machinery they served. Such a structure evolved, with help from two very dissimilar sources—the world of marketing, and the world of insurgent politics. From one came the principle of pyramid marketing; from the other, the principle of the cell group. The church structure that resulted was more dynamic and more versatile than the traditional structure—it allowed for greater attention to focused prayer, more efficient fund-raising, more firmly-driven expansion .... And a more effective central authority. Over the decades, the cell church and the mega church evolved together, twin parts of the same phenomenon, popular alike with Baptists, Methodists, and Pentecostals. Cell church structures have developed especially strongly in Asia—in South Korea (associated with David Yonggi Cho), for example, as well as in Singapore (Lawrence Khong), Indonesia (Indri Gautama), and Thailand. In the United States, Rick Warren's Saddleback Church uses the model. And in Washington, The Fellowship Foundation (a.k.a. The Family) combines the Amway-style pyramid with the Bolshevik-style cell as the most effective way of winnowing recruits, exerting control, and spreading its influence.

But prayer, of course, was just a means to a secular end. To "transform the nation", there would have to be skilled Christian

operatives in every sector of life, ready to shape the new world "according to God's will". There would have to be businessmen, bankers, lawyers, teachers, journalists, doctors, administrators, entertainers, soldiers, policemen. And, of course, all would have to be praying from the same Book—united both in prayer, and in the secular task needed to secure the nation for God. Thus, for Dominionists in particular, a secular specialty is not merely a cover for Christianizing. Secular transformation, in fact, is the real objective of Christian prayer.

The insertion into political life of formal prayer sessions is not, of course, anything particularly new. Prayer, like saluting the flag, is part and parcel of American public life. As Jeffrey Sharlet points out:

> "There are literally thousands of governors' and mayors' prayer breakfasts around the country. Some of those were probably launched 40, 50 years ago, and have long since lost their connection to the mothership, as it were. But that's the idea. They're part of the movement. The system is in place, that we should turn to God to make all our decisions."

However, the construction of prayer networks, facilitated electronically, is a relatively recent addition to the global evangelical effort, and is of special importance in the work of moulding political elites in target countries. Throughout the Lausanne process prayer had been used, in a sustained and profound way, as an organizing principle—and, very deliberately, as a political as well as a spiritual weapon. One of the main functions of the Lausanne process was to unite a complex global movement, at many interrelated levels—and to help incorporate it physically so that the blood of a common ideology could flow through its veins. Prayer, it could be said, was that blood: prayer brought together hundreds of diverse agencies; it united hierarchies of "transformation" (from Western evangelists to non-Western leaders, their officers and their troops), and it united

many secular constituencies (political, military, economic, and social) in the evangelical process and the imperial design it spoke for.

All key elements of the modern evangelical prayer network had their origins, quite recently, in the Lausanne process. For example, the two main national prayer networks in America—the National Prayer Committee, founded in 1979 by Campus Crusade's Vonette Bright, and Mission America—both sprang from a subcommittee on prayer at the Lausanne Congress. A coalition of some 400 "prayer leaders" (including all the key evangelical bodies, such as Campus Crusade, SBC, World Vision, and Seventh Day Adventists), the NPC is certainly one of the most influential political networks in the U.S., with a strong presence in every connecting network (such as the Council for National Policy, the Fellowship Foundation, and the Coalition on Revival), and activities ranging from publishing and fund-raising to political lobbying. And such national prayer networks, of course, link powerfully into more global operations, designed and managed by the very same people—for example, Campus Crusade's Global Prayer Movement (launched in Seoul in 1984), the AD2000 United Prayer Track (inspired by the AD2000 Movement leader Luis Bush), World Vision's International Prayer Leaders Consultation (Cape Town, 2002), and C. Peter Wagner's International Coalition of Apostles.(39)

Wagner's contribution has been manifold: working through his Wagner Leadership Institute (as well as through Fuller College and the US Center for World Mission) he developed much of the Dominionist theory behind modern evangelicalism, and in many ways he is the Second Reformation's most influential technocrat. His role is particularly memorable, though, for two innovations: firstly, he gave prayer networks a military structure suitable for the twenty-first century; and secondly, with the launching of his International Coalition of Apostles, he gave the US evangelical movement its first taste of Episcopalian governance. Or at least the theological option for such a governance.

> "God's new wine requires new wineskins ... (There must be) several vehicles for helping the body of Christ flow with divine paradigm shifts, especially in the area of prophetic intercession, deliverance prophecy, power ministries, the New Apostolic Reformation, marketplace ministries, and spiritual transformation."

The New Apostolic Reformation, led by Wagner's International Coalition of Apostles, is one of the defining products of Fuller College Dominionism. It is also the most ambitious attempt yet by evangelicals to incorporate the Holy Spirit in the body of a manmade Church, with a mandate to take control of every nation on earth. To do this, it has taken the rapidly expanding "shepherding" movement and given it a formal network of evangelical (and largely Pentecostal/ Charismatic) "generals", embracing both church and workplace, extending into all strategic regions of the world, and locking in a number of regional subsidiaries, such as the Nigerian Coalition of Apostles, the European League of Apostles, and the Spanish Apostolic Forum. As a framework of control, the arrangement is not merely global and efficient—it is also extremely well funded, technologically up-to-date, and politically well-connected.

One of the keys to the strategy is the connection between apostles and prophets: the first has the authority ("an incredible amount of authority", in Wagner's words) to "set things of the body of Christ and the kingdom of God in order"; the second are "members of the body of Christ who hear the voice of God more than average, and who communicate messages from God to the body of Christ." Wagner's Coalition is the vehicle for this crucial connection.

Of course, the higher realms of such a structure cannot be clear to the naked eye. They exist, apparently distinct and separate, in high politics, finance, and the military. But within the "religious" realm itself, the controllers, the generals, are quite happy to define their authority to the world they seek to change. At the very top, of course, there is God and His Son Jesus Christ. Below this, there is C.

Peter Wagner and his New Apostolic Roundtable of 25 apostles. And below the Roundtable there is the International Coalition of between 500 and 1,000 "territorial apostles", all anointed by the Holy Spirit through Wagner—and many with their own "apostolic networks" of influence. This is especially the case with Wagner's Roundtable colleagues: Chuck Pierce, for example, runs the Governmental Apostolic Prayer Alliance (as well as Generals International), Apostle Cindy Jacobs runs the Reformation Prayer Network, and Apostle Dennis Peacocke leads the powerful Coalition on Revival.

The primary task of such apostles is "city transformation"—in other words, expelling the Devil and taking control of the heartlands of the modern economy, society, and nation. To do this, a territorial apostle must have an "extraordinary authority in spiritual matters over the other Christian leaders in the same city." Furthermore, the apostolic and the prophetic ministries need one another: the first to direct and manage, the other to attract and rally recruits—through healing, prophesy, and revelation of miracles. In all this, the "mega-church" is crucial. For it is within the mega-church (and its cell church components)—tightly structured, monitored, and controlled—that the most extensive pool of recruits resides.

The objective of the enterprise, says Wagner, is to raise the troops to complete God's work and "make disciples of all nations". As an exercise in "spiritual warfare"it is heavily dependent on the elaboration of George Otis' techniques of "spiritual mapping" to identify the enemy (most especially the "portals" of the Devil), and recruit the faithful into battle. Otis and his Sentinel Group are thus key players—crucially, through the "Transformations" franchise which promotes Otis' "spiritual warfare" videos, validating the exercise with evidence (from Guatemala, Colombia, Kenya, the US) of miracles, signs, and wonders produced by intensive prayer.(40) In addition, the New Apostolic Reformation's network embraces a large number of powerful mission groups, such as YWAM, Campus Crusade, and Rick Warren's P.E.A.C.E. project. And it has potent

political connections too—with strong links to the Coalition on Revival, the Council for National Policy, The Family, and numerous governments.

Preparations for the New Apostolic Reformation came to a head in Singapore in 1999, when Wagner brought together his International Coalition of Apostles for their first meeting, to discuss the coming Christian government of the world. It was a strategic choice of locale. Singapore was the commercial hub of the Western presence in Asia; it was a key to the penetration of China, and also of the Muslim world of Southeast Asia; it was rich, efficiently-organized, and favourably inclined towards Western Christians. And besides, symbolically and (many believed) literally, Singapore was the Israel of the East.(41) It was a perfect base for the spread of Christian Dominion. As for those in charge of the enterprise, the Coalition was clearly a high-powered brotherhood—exclusive by definition. Its 25 senior "apostles", anointed by Wagner and charged with wielding the King's (i.e., Christ's) authority on Earth, were all important names in the world evangelical movement. They included:

Chuck Pierce, co-organizer with Wagner of the World Prayer Center,

John P. Kelly, of Antioch Churches (a preacher with close links to the US military),

Dennis Peacocke, founder (with Jay Grimstead) of the rightwing Coalition On Revival,

Ed Silvoso, leader of Harvest Evangelism and a key Christian business motivator,

Lawrence Khong, founder of the Faith Community Baptist Church (one of Singapore's new "megachurches."), and

Cindy Jacobs, leader, Reformation Prayer Network

The Little World of Pastor Ernest

Between them, the 500 or so members of Wagner's coalition account for well over 400 distinct ministries operating in more than 120 countries. All have certain common characteristics: they are Pentecostal/Charismatic; they draw their cultural inspiration from the US; they are strongly rightwing (overwhelmingly Republican and Christian Zionist) in political sympathy; and they are advocates of US political and economic hegemony overseas. All are interconnected, in varying degrees, with one another. Individually, many of the ministries are relatively small—but each small entity gains strength from its membership of the wider network. And the network itself benefits from the synergy. Pastor Ernest Chan's Agape Renewal Ministry is a case in point.

Agape is a ministry of modest size, targeting Chinese in the US and in Asia. A permanent faculty of some 15 staff, including American Chinese and Chinese from China, Taiwan, and the Philippines, boast educational credentials from Fuller Seminary, University of California, the China Evangelical Seminary in California, the Chinese Culture University in Taiwan, and the Wagner Leadership Institute. The ministry also draws on a list of 20 visiting lecturers from such groups as Trinity Church International, Watchman for the Nations, Gatekeepers International, Cleansing Stream Ministries, YWAM, and God Chasers. Such people, of course, have their own useful connections—one, Clyde Frizzelle, for example, is pastor to the Louisiana State Assembly.

Agape is strongly committed to youth evangelizing, and works on this with Pastor Jay Koopman, a Teen Challenge graduate with close connections to Bill Wilson's Metro Ministries—a child evangelism ministry favoured by President

George H.W. Bush in the early 1990s. Koopman and Chan are in the process of setting up a global network of Youth Leadership Institute ministries—to which end Koopman makes pastoral visits to countries like Great Britain, the Philippines, and (especially) Malaysia. Agape is also strongly committed to Christian Zionism, and—through its Love Israel ministry—arranges Holy Land tours and conferences to "bring about unity among Chinese churches and ignite genuine love for God's chosen people." In pursuit of this, Chan's ministry builds bomb shelters and gives gifts to the poor to "put feet to our love for Israel."

Agape Renewal Ministry, like the International Coalition of Apostles itself, is much more than the sum total of its parts. By connecting closely with groups of like mind but different emphasis, Agape can multiply its influence both as a ministry to Chinese Americans, and as a key operator in the task of evangelizing the Chinese community in strategically important Southeast Asia, and in China itself.

The creation of the International Coalition of Apostles was also an event defined very much by the coming of the new Millennium:

"Since 2001," Wagner wrote later, "the body of Christ has been in the Second Apostolic Age. The apostolic/prophetic government of the church is now in Place .... (We) began to build our base by locating and identifying with the intercessory prayer movements. This time, however, we feel that God wants us to start governmentally, connecting with the apostles of the region. God has already raised up for us a key apostle in one of the strategic nations of the Middle East, and other apostles are already coming on board. Once we have the apostles in place, we will then bring the intercessors and the prophets into the inner circle, and we will end up with the spiritual core we need to move ahead for retaking the dominion that is rightfully ours."

It was prophetic intercession, claimed Wagner, that determined the outcome of the United States election in 2000, when George W. Bush became President.

The Self Help Crusaders: "Leadership Training" as Subversion

In the Judeo-Christian West, there is a very fine line between the worship of God and the business of making money. Within other cultures, however, the conjunction is not quite so close. An essential part of Westernization, therefore, is the moulding of economic and religious values into a Western form of harmony. This serves a number of vital purposes: it spreads Western-style (and essentially Protestant) capitalism; it ensures a subservient comprador class; and it subverts indigenous spirituality.

One of the most important agencies for achieving this task is the "leadership guru" (or the business motivation expert). Throughout the non-Western world, and at all levels of society, such experts have gained a huge following. They are invariably American, and almost without exception they are evangelical Christians as well. And each one is an expert in three intertwined specialties: corporate management, self-promotion, and evangelical politics. The message presented is a carefully-worked amalgam of the tenets of all three—management excellence, personal profit, and collective benefit. It is a seductive message.

But there is an important qualification. While the secular message of personal gain is emphatically presented, the wider (and deeper) religious and political ramifications are carefully concealed. Of course, many such experts are avowedly Christian—great material success, after all, has its Divine inspiration—but the wider network within which their individual Christian energies are defined and coordinated is given very little publicity indeed. As far as the evangelical movement is concerned, the West's "leadership experts"

are studiously excluded from the published programme—when in fact they are amongst the movement's most effective practitioners, and its most presentable stars. Likewise, the multi-billion dollar "self-motivation" industry promotes its wares with no more than a coy nod towards its evangelical purpose.

Take John Calvin Maxwell. Maxwell advertises himself primarily as a "leadership guru" who speaks to Fortune 500 companies "... and audiences as diverse as the US Military Academy at West Point, the National Football League, and ambassadors at the UN." In essence, his message is a simple one: you build a successful organization by proper leadership training and multiplication—with emphasis on a strong middle management. It is a message that is elaborated in over 50 books, with titles like "Leadership Gold", "360 Degree Leaders", and "The 21 Irrefutable LAWS of Leadership". And it is packaged for sale in terms few could argue with.(42)

The Institute of Training and Development, for example, represents Maxwell's business in Southeast Asia—and in particular his Maximum Impact training program. In its promotional literature, ITD spells out its role:

> "In an increasingly globalized economy driven by knowledge, competency, and innovation, ITD can be the people's crucial source of competitive advantage due to its ability to combine expertise and experience from its core expertise in various distinct areas (sic). This portfolio synergy allows ITD to better meet the unique development needs of individuals and corporations and the community."

On the face of it, Maxwell is simply promoting a business ethos, a way of managing people for maximum results. But Maxwell is doing far more than this, and to appreciate the breadth of his role one needs to look a little more carefully at his credentials. Maxwell is primarily a Christian evangelist. He has a Masters in Divinity from the

charismatic Christian Azusa Pacific University and a doctorate from Fuller Theological Seminary, as well as five honorary doctorates in divinity. For 25 years he was an elder in the Reformed Church family of churches, including the Crystal Cathedral. Maxwell's main creation, the leadership training group EQUIP, has as its mission the creation of "effective Christian leaders (to) fulfill the Great Commission in every nation." To this end, Maxwell's "Million Leaders Mandate" had sought to produce one million Christian leaders by the year 2008.

Equipping Leaders for Asia is a regional expression of EQUIP's Million Leaders Mandate. It is based in Singapore, and comprises 59 churches and mission agencies (including evangelical Baptist, Pentecostal, and Presbyterian churches in Malaysia, Singapore, Burma, and Indonesia, along with YWAM, the Navigators, Prison Fellowship, Salvation Army, and Lighthouse Evangelism). Apart from EQUIP itself, ELA's main partners are Campus Crusade for Christ, Growing Leaders, Man in the Mirror, Church Resources Ministry, the Girls' Brigade, International Christian Ministries (Singapore), The Navigators, World Outreach, and Wordsearch Bible Software.

ELA's main task is "to raise and equip leaders for the body of Christ in Asia"—or to "make disciples". Its strategy for doing this is threefold:

(1) Create Value Through Catalytic Events: The preferred event is seen to be some kind of church-inspired "motivational event";
(2) Capture Momentum Through Small Groups: Essentially the creation of cells within which control and training can be focused;
(3) Sustain Change Through Ministry Opportunities: In other words, evangelical outreach and the creation of further leaders and their incubating cells. (43)

Maxwell's leadership strategy is thus the same for the church as it is for the corporation. Even the terminology is more or less

interchangeable. And this is one of the keys to Maxwell's success as an evangelist. For Maxwell has "contextualized" his message in such a way that much of its Christian content is implicit and subliminal: there is frequent reference to the Bible (most of his adages for success, for example, have a biblical root), but little mention of Jesus Christ; and all biblical allusions are couched in interpretations which draw heavily on the modern ideologies of self-improvement and corporate success. Because of this, Maxwell has been heavily criticized by conservative evangelicals (especially within his own Reformed Church community) for his heretical "pop-modernist" and "neo-deism" theology, and for his rejection of what the conservatives call "Verbal Plenary Preservation"—in other words, the literal truth of the "original" Bible. (44)

Maxwell, of course, is by no means alone. He is only one of a large army of Christian "leadership experts" doing the same thing. Kenneth Blanchard, co-author of "The One Minute Manager", is also a Christian evangelist. Rick Warren, author of "The Purpose-Driven Life", is too. And so are Paul Meyer, Zig Ziglar, Oz Hillman, and many others. Warren has sold over 30 million of his "Purpose-Driven Life"; Maxwell has sold some 13 million books, and has "trained two million leaders worldwide". In most countries of the world, such "leadership" primers far outsell the Bible, and are the preferred reading of millions of urbanites belonging to every religion. Put simply, the US evangelical movement has—in the self-improvement industry—one of the most potent weapons it could wish for in its crusade to "Americanize" and Christianize the economies and the administrations of the non-Western world.

THE MILITARY IMPERATIVE

Soldiers in Spirit

> "When God calls us to join the battle, He is not using a mere metaphor. This war is real, the enemy is determined to destroy us, and his weapons are deadly ... To better defend ourselves against this implacable foe, we need to understand the way he operates."
>
> (Ray C. Stedman: *Spiritual Warfare*, Book 4)

> "We are under spiritual invasion! Man your battle stations! Ready your weapons! LOCK AND LOAD!"
>
> (Rod Parsley, Pentecostal preacher)

The idea of "spiritual warfare", like the concept of *jihad* in Islam, is an idea with a respectable biblical pedigree. It applies to a wide range of activities, from private inner struggle, to prayer for a fellow being, to large-scale and very public collective action. Partly because of this, it is a term open to a variety of interpretations.

Christians find biblical support for the conception largely in Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, where Paul exhorts believers to wage war on the Devil in all his guises: "Put on the full armour of God ... Take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God .... And pray in the Spirit on all occasions with all kinds of prayers and requests." But like so much of the Bible, the meaning of such a passage—both intended and, most especially, inferred - begs a number of important questions. Certainly, the Christian use of the term "spiritual warfare" must be approached no less critically than the way Christians usually react to the term "jihad". Three questions must be asked: Who is going to war? Against what enemy? And with what weaponry? And when answers are given, we must insist that the line between metaphor and reality is drawn very clearly indeed.

Between Christians, much of the debate about "spiritual warfare" revolves around the relative merits of inner struggle and public crusade, of personal evangelism as opposed to aggressive evangelization. But there is a deeper and rather more complex annexe to this debate which many Christians prefer not to approach: if evangelization, of necessity, involves the secular organs of society as well as the spiritual, how far does "spiritual" warfare need to blend into, or coexist with, war as a worldly pursuit? It is a very old question. But in recent years the rise of Dominionist influence in world affairs makes it especially relevant.

Dominionism is both an elitist and a militaristic theology. For Dominionists, the Church exists to take on the work which God left unfinished—as Christ incarnate, its responsibility is to complete the Great Commission, to make all nations disciples of Christ, and to prepare for the Second Coming. This divine task rests in the hands of the true believers (i.e., the Dominionists themselves)—people who, by definition, are empowered by God Himself. Evangelizing is thus seen to incarnate the Holy Spirit on earth more widely and profoundly, by recruiting the powerful and, through strategic prayer networks, drawing them into the process of intercession for the wider population. In other words, evangelization trains the local generals and officers, who will lead the troops in the war against the Devil and his works. In this way, whole nations or "people groups" are mobilized towards "transformation"—a "transformation" which (at all levels, city, nation, and globe) can only be won by Holy War. This is something Dominionist language makes very clear:

> "...God is a military God .... The title He uses ten times more than any other in Scripture is 'the Lord of hosts' or 'the Lord of armies'. There is a martial aspect to His character that we must understand and embrace for the times and the job to which we are now coming."
>
> (Rick Joyner: *Taking the Land*)(45)

Evangelization, then, is a form of warfare. The theology of Dominionism, in particular, is inseparable from the theology of Spiritual Warfare, in which prayer is the key weapon which the righteous bring to bear against the Devil. At least, that is the official version. For the Dominionists, with their emphasis on political and economic change at national (and global) scale, "spiritual warfare" is a somewhat omnibus term, shading easily—and necessarily—into a range of rather more worldly tactical options. "Prayer", in itself, is something of a figleaf.

Dominionists identify three basic levels of Spiritual Warfare: *Ground Level*—which involves person-to-person prayer, and equates with traditional evangelism; *Occult Level*—which deals with demonic forces released through Satanism, witchcraft, astrology, and other "structured occultism"; and *Strategic Level*—which binds and defeats spiritual principalities and powers that control governments. For Dominionists, Spiritual Warfare is to be fought primarily at this last level, and to a lesser extent at the Occult Level. The threat is both strategic and multifarious, with Satan dispatching senior demons from his hierarchy (aided and abetted by a host of junior demons) to control countries, regions, cities, tribes, and all manner of social networks.(46)

To allow the proper glorifying of God in such places, the hold of Satan and his helpers must be broken. But it can only be broken if it is first clearly identified. And this is the role of Spiritual Mapping. By "spiritually mapping" a territory, the warrior maps out the local status of Christianity, prevailing "social bondages", traumatic historic events, hostile religious loyalties, and so on. It is then possible to hold well-targeted mass gatherings, prayer watches, and prayer marches in order to "pray strategic prayers" against the enemy's strongholds. Once the Devil's powers are broken, the spiritual genes of the community are reborn and there is revival—followed by security, prosperity, and peace for all.

Such, at least, is the theory. In reality, of course, the paraphernalia of Spiritual Warfare are defined by a much wider and strongly secular agenda—itself defined by ideological predilections, geopolitical need, and economic self-interest. The Dominionists, first and foremost, are crusaders for the American Way—for free market economics and private enterprise, for a Judaeo-Christian culture, and for US political and military hegemony. Of necessity, therefore, the Enemy and the Enemy's territories are defined in these terms, as are the strategy, tactics, and objectives of the crusaders themselves. The aim of the exercise, by implication, is the transformation of complete social, economic, and political structures, and of the deep-seated patterns of religious belief, political authority, and economic behaviour which go with them. In other words, of whole nations.

Pentecostalist "spiritual warfare" has been a servant of US foreign policy for decades. It was used to great effect in Indonesia during the 1960s—when it was necessary to demonize (quite literally) the forces opposing US interests, and manufacture a lethal fury amongst the local population. It was used in Latin America, in the war against a left wing influenced peasantry. And it has been used in many other strategically important regions where local discontent needs to be confounded—for example, in Central Africa, and in mineral-rich Papua-New Guinea. In such cases, occult level tactics are often used on local tribes, targeting animistic beliefs (especially "shamanism") as part of the Christianizing process.

Prayer efforts at the occult level, of course, are always subsumed under the process of strategic spiritual warfare. The war against Iraq provides ample testimony of the collective efforts of Christians (especially Pentecostals) to make prayer a weapon of war. On the situation in Iraq, C. Peter Wagner offers the perspective of "a professional missiologist": the enemy the West is fighting, says Wagner, is in reality "a high-ranking demonic spirit" called Allah "who is attempting to control the spiritual atmosphere over Iraq" in order "to steal, to kill, and to destroy." Taking the Iraqi nation for

Christ is essential, because as long as the Iraqi people worship this Devil, "he has legal right to accomplish his vile purposes in their nation .... Intercessors need to recognize that in the invisible world this is a clash of kingdoms. The question is: Who will rule? The kingdom of darkness or the Kingdom of Light?" And Wagner underlines his case by contrasting failure in Iraq with success in the United States:

> " ... (None) of the founders of America, as far as we know, openly worshiped a false god such as Allah. This cleared the Heavens for the work of the prophetic intercessors and the leaders of the Church and allowed the United States to be established and to succeed."(47)

At the strategic level, then, Spiritual Warfare unites the prayers of the Church as the Holy Spirit incarnate, in order to take on the Devil in all his manifestations. Throughout Christian history, this battle has been central to the task of evangelizing foreign lands, subjugating their peoples, and building temporal empire. And, in every age, the spiritual battle has been defined to a large extent by the secular order it speaks for—and by the secular weapons available.

In this respect, C. Peter Wagner is perhaps the evangelical movement's leading modernizer. If spiritual warfare is not new, electronic evangelization certainly is. And spiritual warfare organized within a multinational corporate management structure as a twenty-first century military campaign is certainly unprecedented. These three combined during the Lausanne years to give evangelization a uniquely modern expression in both its work and its spirit. And nowhere is this more clearly seen than in the role of Dr Wagner, whose inspiration has threaded through the Second Reformation for over 30 years. In 1991, Wagner established Global Harvest Ministries, and through this (and with the help of Ted Haggard, erstwhile head of the National Association of Evangelicals and leader of the New Life Church) he set up the World Prayer Center seven years later to help

coordinate the growing number of prayer networks dedicated to the Dominionist cause.(48)

Wagner's aim was to promote prayer to its highest level of efficiency as a tool of evangelization—to generate "massive amounts of fervent, informed intercession to measurably speed the process." For prayer (together with other spiritual warfare techniques such as spiritual mapping) could literally change the spiritual atmosphere over a prayed-for entity—be it a nation, a city, or a people group. Scripture tells us, says Wagner, that united Christian prayer will cause the demons to surrender, and victory over the nations will follow. Telecommunications, and linking Christian prayers with massive databases of evangelical intelligence about "unreached people groups", are part of the battle. But spiritual warfare needed to be properly coordinated. "We see our task," said Wagner, "as getting people in touch with one another to form interactive human web networks that are properly equipped to wage effective spiritual warfare."

And this was to be the role of the World Prayer Center, in Colorado Springs. The World Prayer Center was funded mainly by donations from Ted Haggard's New Life Church, which sits nearby. It is a 55,000 square foot building, housing the latest telecommunication system, banks of computers, prayer rooms, lecture rooms and auditoria, the world's largest collection of prayer and spiritual warfare literature, and the Observatory Research Center, which contains a spiritual mapping library and a huge "spiritual mapping" system, designed to compile and bank the largest collection of computerized data on evangelization ever assembled. The system is linked with a host of other similar systems, including those of Global Mapping International, also in Colorado Springs, George Otis' Sentinel Group, Missionary Aviation Fellowship, and Generals of Intercession—and it is in the process of bringing all 330,000 churches in North America (and eventually all churches in the world) into the network.

It is the most technically advanced project ever undertaken, by the members of any faith, to identify their enemies. Through its computers, the World Prayer Center will assess the "spiritual climate" (that is, the disposition of the enemy) in nations, states, cities, blocks, even individual homes—using cell grid mapping, based partly on pin-coding, to mark every pocket of resistance to the "movement of the Holy Spirit.". The programme is already well under way outside of the United States—in India, for example, where the India Missions Association, together with the US group Gospel for Asia, has carried out a nationwide pin-code survey to expedite evangelizing. And it connects closely with a host of other "spiritual warfare" projects, ranging from George Otis's "Transformations" Project, through the Global Day of Prayer, the Joshua Project, and the Elijah List, to YWAM's Thirty Days Muslim Prayer Focus.

The World Prayer Center is hailed by some evangelicals as "the Pentagon of modern Christianity" or "God's Air Command". The Center's leaders—like Wagner and (until 2008) Ted Haggard—are "God's Generals." It is a characterization that Wagner does not disagree with—the "ground troops" can only succeed, he says, if there is an "air force" to provide both protection and strategic information about spiritual enemies.

Writing in the Christian journal "Charisma", J.Lee Grady takes the characterization one step further:

> "If the World Prayer Center is a spiritual version of the Pentagon," says Grady, "then Wagner is the church's Norman Schwartzkopf .... And now that his command center is built, he's ready to launch his own spiritual version of Operation Desert Storm."(49)

In the Christian West, this cross-fertilization between Church and Military is both powerful and comprehensive. For the evangelical, "spiritual warfare" relies, almost by definition, on the assumption of a worldly counterpart armed with very real (and very powerful) military

hardware. For the military man, likewise, the practice of war may gain a little from evangelical experience. In Iraq and Afghanistan, from 2005, the US military began to put in place a new intelligence-gathering network called the Human Terrain System. This involved the use of embedded teams of social scientists (anthropologists, sociologists, social psychologists) in each of all 26 combat brigades, to establish the cultural, linguistic, and political lay of the local landscape—and in particular, its religious configuration. These "Human Terrain Teams" would be responsible for drawing up a computerized bank of "Human Terrain Mapping" resources, in order to better identify the enemy—and more effectively subvert and defeat it.(50)

It was something that the Joshua Project, and George Otis' "spiritual mapping", had been doing for more than 15 years. With encouragement, of course, from the military.

Christ in Uniform

> "John Denton, a Southern Baptist chaplain, said his journey (to Iraq) has caused him to reflect on Abraham and Moses and their journey in the desert—walking by faith with God.
>
> " 'The Lord has raised up an army of saints to faithfully labor in this particular vineyard,' Denton said."(51)

The United States has never fought a war which did not have scriptural justification. By definition, the United States—a nation founded upon the principles of Christian democracy, freedom, and justice—can only engage in wars which are just, and which oppose evil in whatever form it may take. Indeed, some argue that, scripturally speaking, the United States' only available option is the Just War—the only true Holy War being that commanded by God specifically to Old Testament Israel. U.S. policy-makers, accordingly, are scrupulous in finding scriptural support for the justness of every engagement.

Scriptural justification, however, is a fairly elastic concept. It tends to be shaped and applied very much according to secular predilections, and therefore tends to follow strategic decisions or events, rather than presage them. But it is also, in public relations terms, an enabling device or a call for support. And in this sense, especially within U.S. evangelical circles, the secular imperative to violence is now increasingly blessed with evocations not merely of the Just War, but of a Holy War—waged against Satan, in the name of Jesus Christ, on a multitude of fronts, not only by U.S. salesmen, politicians, and clerics, but by the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force as well. And to many observers, this is of special concern. The world's most powerful military machine, they argue, is being reshaped as a global crusading army—with comprehensive scriptural validation.(52)

Apart from its formidable array of hardware, the United States has over 1.4 million soldiers, sailors, and airmen serving in 820 military bases in 132 countries—with another 1.4 million on reserve.(53) In evangelical theory, such military personnel comprise a distinct "people cluster", separate from all other "people clusters" in administrative, social, and cultural terms—and qualifying for their own specialized ministry. Accordingly, a vast parallel network of evangelical missionaries has emerged to serve—and to mould—those fighting on behalf of the United States. The particular task of this network is to provide the scriptural incentive to go to war, to motivate the troops, to give them appropriate leadership—and in so doing to promote the military as both a sacred undertaking and an evangelizing opportunity. It is a task summarized by Campus Crusades Military Ministry as one of transforming all military cadets into "government-paid missionaries for Christ."

As in all other areas of life, the military mission network comprises a large number of specialist and interlocking agencies operating within a shared and well-defined ideological framework. This framework, sanctioned at the highest level of authority, is the moral and secular justification of American power—and those working within it,

inevitably, must be the servants of that power. It is a simple equation, but in a very real sense it defines the theology of the entire enterprise. (54)

Dozens of evangelical agencies are involved, wholly or partly, in military mission—within both the U.S. Armed Forces, and the foreign forces they work with. The largest and most influential of these are: Campus Crusade for Christ Military Ministry, and its offshoot Christian Embassy; Officers' Christian Fellowship (for officers), and its affiliated Christian Military Fellowship (for enlisted men); Cadence International (including Malachi Ministries for military youth); Association for Christian Conferences Teaching & Service (ACCTS); and Navigators. Others include the Fellowship of Christian Military Ministries, the Association of Military Christian Fellowships, FORCE Ministries, Missions to Military, Military Missions Network, and Military Missions Inc. In addition to these, of course, all denominations maintain outreach ministries to the Armed Services (some, such as the Lutheran and S.B.C., being particularly active), and most civilian evangelical agencies do too.(55)

Such military missionaries have little difficulty finding scriptural justification for war, violence, soldiering, or killing in support of an ideal. The Book of Exodus, after all, celebrates God as a God of war. And so the very act of being a soldier can be presented as virtuous: "... being a soldier is highly respected throughout the Bible," stresses Got Questions Ministries. "Jesus marveled when a Roman centurion approached Him .... Our armed services should be just as favorably valued as the Centurion of the Bible." Such ministries put great emphasis on the fact that Jesus was not a pacifist: "... I did not come to bring peace, but a sword ..." He says in the book of Matthew (Matthew 10: 34-36); while in the book of Revelations, He is depicted bearing "a sharp sword" and smiting nations, ruling them "with a rod of iron." Indeed, force of arms may well be a sacred duty: in the book of Judges, for example, God frequently exhorted the Israelites to go to war; and "from the days of John the Baptist until now," says the book

of Matthew, "the kingdom of heaven has been forcefully advancing, and forceful men lay hold of it"(Matthew 11:12). Such force, of course, is not an arbitrary thing. The Christian soldier is a soldier guided by wisdom: "Every purpose is established by counsel," says the book of Proverbs, "and with good advice make war" (Proverbs 20: 18) And so the soldier for Christ is expected to fight the good fight and keep the faith—at least until the Saviour's Second Coming.(56)

The Book of Matthew 11:12

There are many different translations of the Bible, and through these different versions the original scriptures achieve widely differing meanings.

Matthew 11:12 is a good example. The version quoted here is essentially that of The International Standard Version(2008) and the GOD'S WORD ® Translation 1995 ("The kingdom of heaven has been forcefully advancing, and forceful people have been seizing it.")

However, The New American Standard Bible(1995) presents a ratherdifferent meaning: "... The kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and and violent men take it by force." The same sense is reflected in The King James Bible. The Bible in Basic English translates the same passage as "... the kingdom of heaven is forcing its way in, and men of force take it."And The Weymouth New Testament records that "from the time of John the Baptist till now, the Kingdom of the Heavens has been suffering violent assault, and the violent have been seizing it by force."

The same observation is made in the book of Luke: "The Law and the Prophets were proclaimed until John; since that time the gospel of the kingdom of God has been preached, and everyone is forcing his way into it."(Luke 16:16)

Clearly, one's choice of translation—and of scripture—will be determined by the point one wishes to make..

(See: http://bible.cc/matthew/11-12.htm)

The Christian sword, of course, is both a literal and a metaphorical weapon. As evangelists, military personnel must also take with them the Sword of Truth wherever they go: "There is New Testament evidence," says Military Missions Network, "that God uses the military, directly and indirectly, to propagate the Gospel and multiply disciples worldwide"—consequently, "reaching the military with the Gospel, and reaching the world through the military, is a solid New Testament missionary philosophy." In other words, says the military missionary, joining the Armed Forces is a sure way of fulfilling the Great Commission, defined in the Book of Matthew as "Thou shalt go and make disciples of all nations."(Matthew 28: 19)

Some would argue that associating the U.S. Army with Christ's Great Commission is a perilous business—the Great Commission, after all, takes precedence over all man-made laws. However, the splicing together of Christian revelation and military discipline is seen by many missionaries, and many lay policy-makers, as an essential part of the American crusade. It is an imperative most ably articulated by the Military Ministry of Campus Crusade for Christ.

CCC's Military Ministry defines for itself six strategic objectives:

(1) Evangelize and Disciple Enlisted Members of the US Military (Ministry at each basic training center and beyond. Transform our culture through the U.S. Military).
(2) Develop Christian Military Leaders for the 21st Century.
(3) Stop the Unravelling of the Military Family.
(4) Arm Troops in Harm's Way with Spiritual Resources.
(5) Global Online Evangelism, Discipleship, & Leader Training for Military Personnel.
(6) Change Continents for Christ (Transform nations of the world through the militaries of the world. Train, equip, and partner with indigenous leaders to establish strategic sending platforms in each region of the world).

The process of attaining these objectives begins early, with "gateway ministries" amongst enlisted trainees, officer cadets, and in ROTC. The ministry recognizes that the young recruits are under pressure and vulnerable—and are therefore most open to the Good News. In the words of the Executive Director of CCC/MM, Major General Bob Dees (rtd):

> "Militaries exercise, generally speaking, the most intensive and purposeful indoctrination program of citizens."
>
> (Life & Leadership, CCCMM, Oct., 2005)

The evangelical grasp on this indoctrination is both firm and highly coordinated. The military ministries themselves work closely with one another (Campus Crusade's Military Ministry, for example, benefits in its proselytizing of enlisted men by a formal partnership with the 15,000-strong Officers' Christian Fellowship—and, of course, with CCC's own Christian Embassy), with civilian Christian groups (including home churches), and with base commanders, Armed Services chaplains, and top members of the Department of Defense. At all levels, a rigid dominionist agenda is pursued, and recruitment to the cause is tightly monitored—especially that of military chaplains. In the Air Force, about 70% of all chaplains are evangelical, while in the Armed Forces overall some 50% of chaplain appointments are now held by radical evangelicals, many with a highly symbolic service in Iraq—in the U.S. Air Force Academy, for example, Chaplain of the Year Major Warren Watties was able to boast of baptizing young soldiers in Saddam Hussein's personal swimming pool. Camp commandants, too, are frequently evangelical: the last head of the West Point Academy, Maj. Gen. Robert L. Caslen Jr, President of OCF and now Commanding General of the 25th Infantry Division, is on record as saying that "the aroma of Jesus Christ" suffuses the Pentagon workforce. A similar situation exists within the Defense Department itself. Major General Jack Catton, advisor to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, whose "first priority is to my faith", finds employment in the Pentagon "a wonderful opportunity" to evangelize those setting

defence policy; the Undersecretary of Veterans' Affairs, Dan Cooper, similarly, has no confusion—to Cooper, the weekly prayer sessions are "more important than doing the job'. Secretary of the Army, Preston M. Geren, worked with Campus Crusade—and defined his job, in part, as one of struggling against the "darkness and oppression" of radical Islam; Secretary of the Air Force, Mike Wynne, contrived a new "code of ethics" to legitimize proselytizing in the Service following a critical report on the subject; and the recently retired Pentagon Inspector General, Joseph Schmitz, now on the board of Blackwater Corporation, had a record of exonerating evangelical officers charged with unethical behaviour. Indeed, one of Schmitz' main beneficiaries was Army Major General William Boykin, at one time Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence, and the man in charge of the "hunt for Osama".

The Richard Land Letter

On October 3rd, 2002, five evangelical leaders co-signed a letter to President George Bush offering theological support for a pre-emptive just war against Iraq. The letter was written by Richard E. Land, President of the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. Land's co-signers were Bill Bright of Campus Crusade, James Kennedy of Coral Ridge Ministries and Evangelism Explosion, Chuck Colson of Prison Fellowship, and Carl D. Herbster, President of the American Association of Christian Schools. President Bush was assured he had eight theologically-sound reasons for invading Iraq:

(1) The action would be defensive;
(2) The intent was just and noble—as the United States didn't intend to destroy, conquer, or exploit Iraq;
(3) The action was a last resort, as Saddam had attacked his

neighbours, was engaged in the pursuit and development of biochemical and nuclear weapons of mass destruction for use against his own people, and was harbouring Al Qaeda terrorists;
(4) The invasion was authorized by a legitimate authority—namely, the United States;
(5) The invasion had limited goals;
(6) There was a reasonable chance of success;
(7) Non-combatant immunity would be observed;
(8) The act was "proportional" —in that the human cost to both sides would be justified by the intended outcome.

As the U.S. invasion of Iraq gathered force, Major General Boykin had toured churches at home, in uniform, depicting himself as "God's Warrior" and the conflict as a war between Christ and Satan. The Christian God, Boykin maintained, was bigger than any Muslim warlord's God—this latter God, to Boykin, was a mere "idol". Inspector General Schmitz (married, incidentally, to Jeb Bush's sister-in-law), found that Boykin had committed no "ethics violations"—and allowed his promotion to Senior Military Officer in charge of Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo Bay Prison, and "extraordinary rendition". Boykin, after all, was merely expressing what most Americans believed. But it was up to an Air Force general to give substance to Boykin's rhetoric. Islamic extremists, according to General Mike McClendon, have a 100-year plan for world domination: they plan to create an economic superpower with the biggest army and strongest currency, and they want half the world's population to live in an Islamic state; in addition, they plan to control the West's oil reserves, bankrupt Western countries, and create safe havens for terrorists throughout the world, especially in Latin America. General Mike McClendon has a key role in intelligence: a former instructor at the ALERT Academy, which trains young Christian men in disaster response, he is now commander of the Air Force's Global Cyberspace Integration Center in Virginia.

Such examples are not exceptional. The penetration of the U.S. Armed Forces by the evangelical right is both systemic and a largely open affair. The result is a comprehensive, global, and increasingly powerful network of far right Christian operatives, working to achieve, in the words of the Officers' Christian Fellowship, "a spiritually transformed U.S. military, with ambassadors of Christ in uniform empowered by the Holy Spirit." But the process doesn't stop with America's own soldiery, whether they be at home or overseas. Such missions also have a potent role in conflict zones overseas, where their operations tend to be far more covert, or subsumed in the work of civilian proxy agencies such as World Vision, the Southern Baptists, Voice of the Martyrs, or Bible Pathways Ministries. This is especially evident in Iraq, where intensive evangelization is being pursued by both military and civilian missionary bodies, involving thousands of operatives, in well over 50 evangelical groups, in every sector of the occupation's presence.(57) Groups such as World Help and Bible Pathways Ministries distribute Bible tracts to be handed out by patrolling soldiers, as well as a wide range of scripture material for distribution in schools, hospitals, prisons, and community places—Arabic Bibles and tracts, for instance, as well as videos, audio cassettes, colouring books, and comics.(58) Many missionaries seek employment with Defense Department contractors in order to gain access to local Iraqis: the founder of Phoenix Mission of Mercy, Joe Phoenix (a one-time funeral home embalmer and police sergeant), for example, is employed by DynCorp, one of the biggest Defense contractors, to manage teams of "American Highway Patrol Advisers"—all members of such teams are evangelical Christians, each strongly supported by sponsorship from a church back home.(59)

More telling, perhaps, are the crusading undertones of combat itself. Soldiers are sent into battle with exhortations from their chaplains to be holy warriors against the forces of Satan, and to defeat the Philistines, just as King David did in the Old Testament.(60) Thus, in the hours before the attack on Fallujah, US marines were anointed with holy oil, and urged on from camp loudspeakers by cries of "You

are the sovereign! Your name is holy! You are the pure spotless lamb!"; meanwhile, others prepared themselves by dressing up as gladiators to stage scenes from Ben Hur. In Samarra, mosques were spray-painted with crosses, and armoured vehicles were plastered with the words "Jesus Killed Mohammed" in Arabic. And in less open places, the crusading onslaught is equally brutal—but more calculated. In Iraq and Afghanistan, as in Guantanamo Bay, imprisonment, interrogation and torture have all been "contextualized" as religious warfare, with inmates subjected to a comprehensive range of abuses that underline a Christian victor's contempt for a defeated Islam. (The role of "contextualized" torture is examined more fully in the section which follows.)

To some extent, however, accounts of military behaviour belie the radical nature of America's Christian mission to Iraq. More telling, perhaps, is the way evangelical groups like World Vision have been incorporated into the Occupation's administrative structure, especially in the plans for transforming Nineveh Governorate into a Christian state. Significant, too, is the studied use of senior local Christians in the design of a new client administration—the second-in-command in Saddam's air force, George Sada, for example, appointed senior national security adviser to the U.S.-led government, was given the task of redesigning the Iraqi military and expanding the Christian presence within it. (Under Sada, Saddam's presidential suite symbolically became an evangelical church). And it was under U.S. Army management, with Kuwaiti cooperation, that many of Iraq's libraries (including numerous collections of Koranic manuscripts, such as that in Baghdad's Awqaf Library) were looted and destroyed in 2003. In total, Fernando Baez estimates, the US invasion cost Iraq the loss of some 10 million books, periodicals, and manuscripts(61)—while over a million Arabic bibles flooded the country in compensation.

The U.S.military's Christian presence in Iraq, of course, is only its most dramatic expression. The presence is worldwide, and more

often than not rather more subtle than it is in Iraq. One of the biggest military ministries with a strong overseas outreach is Cadence International, which has some 200 missionaries, and offers the slogan "Military people have opportunities to touch lives for eternity." Cadence began ministering to the Asian military in 1992—although its outreach includes the police and government officers more generally. Such people are targeted for three reasons, says Cadence: they are "the most powerful people in their cultures"; they are the "door openers"; and they are the people with the "widest networks of social influence". The evangelizing is dogged and wide-ranging: operating out of Chiang Mai, Cadence missionaries "teach English" at the Thai Royal Army Academy, and advise the Thailand Military and Police Christian Fellowship; they work with the Cambodian Army, especially with the Northern Command—with both officers' and officers' wives ministries; they train the Philippines Army—with emphasis on Mindanao, where they minister to local troops and raise military chaplains; and they maintain covert outreaches in Vietnam, Myanmar, and the North India/Tibet border area. They work closely with many other groups, such as Agape Ministries, Campus Crusade, Christian Military Fellowship, and SEANET (which sends missionaries to the Buddhist world), as well as with home churches (especially in military cities such as Fort Worth, Texas); and in addition to this, they have a versatility of competence which allows them to penetrate a target population in a variety of ways. Thus, Cadence International's outreach to various military and police forces involves leadership training, English teaching, "moral and personal development" training, instruction in Christian values, and (where a secular cover is needed), medical clinics, water supply projects, "supplemental livelihood training", and children's programmes.(62)

One of Cadence's more successful outreaches has been in Cambodia, where official restrictions on Christian missionizing remain strong. Here, in concert with groups like CCC Cambodia, Cadence's work within the military has provided the U.S. with a proxy presence of considerable strategic significance: in less than a

year, according to Cadence, a group of 30 Army officers (including about 10 Generals) was transformed into a church of 10,500; a start had been made in penetrating the Military Mapping Department, and making covert outreach over the border to Vietnam, and connections were negotiated between local ethnic Chinese officers and their counterparts within China's People's Liberation Army.

Such programmes, of course, have their scriptural justification. After all, before the children of Israel ventured forth, Joshua despatched his spies to survey the land. The Bible provides guidance, too, on what a Chosen People may do to their enemy, and to those whose lands they occupy:

> "When the Lord your God brings you into the land you are entering to possess and drive out before you many nations, and when the Lord your God has delivered them over to you and you have defeated them, then you must destroy them totally. Make no treaty with them, and show them no mercy .... In the cities of the nations the Lord your God is giving you as an inheritance, do not leave alive anything that breathes. Completely destroy them."
>
> (The Book of Deuteronomy, 7-20)

Engaging the Devil: Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay

When George W. Bush reformed the US Agency for International Development, he chose as his administrator in charge of human rights a man called Paul Bonicelli, former dean of Patrick Henry College in Virginia. Patrick Henry College is an evangelical college. Its students are obliged to sign a statement of faith which notes that "Satan exists as a personal malevolent being who acts as tempter and accuser, for whom Hell, the place of eternal punishment, was prepared, where all who die outside of Christ shall be confined in conscious torment for eternity."

This vision of hell, and its relevance to "non-believers", has long been a part of the mythology of US evangelicals. During the 1970s the Reverend Jerry Falwell sought to discourage the paganism of Halloween by devising the cautionary sideshow of the "hell house" to depict sin, the torments of the damned in hell, and the shape of heaven for those who accept Christ as their personal saviour. And the most popular books in evangelical fiction—Tim LaHaye's "Left Behind" series, which to date have sold over 65 million copies—paint the Apocalypse in vivid terms: for those who reject Christ, no suffering is too gruesome a penalty. In LaHaye's world, Jesus gathers non-Christians to His left and casts them, "howling and screeching", into a "yawning chasm" of everlasting fire; Jesus merely speaks, and the bodies of non-believers are ripped open—so that Christians must drive carefully to avoid "hitting splayed and filleted bodies of men and women and horses." Flesh dissolves, eyes melt, tongues disintegrate, skeletons stand in their uniforms .... The pornography of Christian cruelty is not merely extremely popular—it is deeply riven in the evangelical psyche.

The Christian Church, of course, has had a long history of hostility to dissent, and an equally long and enthusiastic kinship with torture. Indeed, torture has been used—as a symbol of God's anger, as a manifestation of Scripture, as a means of social and political control -- in virtually every period, and in every theatre, of Christian expansion. Throughout European history, the private intricacies of torture have been just as prolific as the great battles, the massacres, and the public executions so freely and so confidently performed in the name of God. It was the same in Africa, both during and after the slave trade. It was the same in the Americas, under both Catholic and Protestant. And it was the same in the Middle East.(63)

For this reason, some argue, there should be no surprise at events in Abu Ghraib—or Bagram, or Guantanamo, or a large number of other detention sites managed by the US military. There is an enabling theology, as well as an enabling pragmatism, which make

such things inevitable. Above all, there is contempt for the infidel: "There is no difference," said Franklin Graham, "between the Iraqis today and Babylon a thousand years ago. (sic)"

The war against Iraq fired the evangelical imagination for many reasons—not least because elements in the US Government, right up to the President, sought to play up its "biblical" significance. Senators, congressmen, a Majority Leader, a Speaker of the House, Secretaries of State and their senior officers, and the President himself all portrayed the conflict as one between the Judeo-Christian world and the world of Satan, highlighting the place of the Middle East in "End Time" theology. Popular writers like Tim LaHaye exploited the perception, as did many of the movement's pastors and theologians. Little wonder, then, that there was a marked convergence between evangelical mythology and the worldly institutions of military occupation—right down to the use of the torture chamber.

The justification of torture is usually a matter of political or military expediency, with little connection to religion. In the present "War on Terror", however, this is clearly not the case. The Americans' own use of terror (both within and without the torture chamber) has a strongly Christian character—in its theological justification, in its political and cultural rationale, and in its detailed calibration. Over 40% of the US military's active personnel consider themselves to be evangelical Christians, and 60% of all military chaplains are evangelical Christians. And American evangelicalism, with its strong strain of patriotic dominionism, makes for a particularly toxic view of a coloured, poor, and Muslim enemy. It also provides the excuse for using torture as a weapon of Holy War.

There are two sides to such as a weapon: the strength of the spiritual conviction behind it, and the spiritual effect of its use on the victim. In the first instance, there is no question that the Western use of torture has a strongly Christian validation. In the second instance, there is no doubt that such torture is designed specifically for Muslims

—since 2001, in particular, the US use of torture has been carefully "contextualized" as a weapon of religious warfare.

When the Pentagon was reorganized under Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and his deputy Stephen Cambone, a kingpin of the new regime was the development of a "Special Access Program", or a black program, which would give the US military extraordinary powers to hunt, detain, and interrogate suspects. At the heart of this programme was Lieutenant General William Boykin, whose responsibility it was to transfer detention and interrogation methods from Guantanamo Bay to Abu Ghraib in Iraq. It was Lt Gen. Boykin's firm belief that the "War on Terror" was a holy war waged by a "Christian nation" against a Muslim Satan, and that George W. Bush had been appointed by God to ensure victory in this holy war.

To manage the process at Abu Ghraib, Boykin recruited the man in charge of "Camp X-Ray" at Guantanamo Bay, Major General Geoffrey D. Miller. At Guantanamo, Miller had established an interrogation regime which Boykin could admire—a regime which defined detainees primarily as religious opponents of a Judeo-Christian West, to be broken through attacks on their faith. Miller, of course, had not been acting alone. The effort at Guantanamo was just a part of a much larger "black program", which took in the global theatre of the "War on Terror", and which itself was merely the latest tailoring of US psychological warfare expertise.

Major General Miller benefited, above all, by a "legal" definition of torture tailor-made for the occasion: the Justice Department's August 2002 memo ruled that a coercive technique was only torture when it induced pain equivalent to what a person experiencing death or organ failure might suffer, and when it could be proved that an interrogator intended to cause such pain—although such torture was legal if it was in accordance with military "necessity". In observing these guidelines, Miller was aided—both at Guantanamo and at Abu Ghraib—by a number of intelligence-gathering agencies, including

Military Intelligence, the CIA, the FBI, and Navy SEALs, who were those mostly responsible for the management and use of "coercive techniques". But he was also helped by teams of trained academics and health professionals (including behavioural psychologists and psychiatrists) called Behavioral Science Consultation Teams, or BSCTs. These were essential, according to Miller, "in developing integrated interrogation strategies and assessing interrogation intelligence production." Fluent in the US Army's own Survival, Evasion, Resistance, and Escape (or SERE) procedures, the teams were also informed by a number of anthropological texts on Arab culture and the Muslim religion. One of these, a book by Raphael Patai called "The Arab Mind", they found especially appealing—largely on account of a chapter concerned with Arab attitudes to sex, and in particular the Arab "fear of sexual humiliation". Of equal importance, however, was the Muslim attitude to his religion.

The SERE handbook had already defined what it called "the religious dilemma" as it related to Christian prisoners—in particular, abuse of the Bible and of Jesus Christ as a way of breaking a subject's will. But now the subjects were Muslim, and so procedures had to be "recontextualized".

Considerable attention was given to handling the Koran. It was clear to Miller's helpers that the Koran was revered by Muslims more than the Bible was by Christians—indeed, the Koran, as the "living Word of God", was as sacred to Muslims as the person of Jesus Christ was to Christians. This gave the interrogators a particularly potent weapon. In Guantanamo, as well as in other centres, the Koran was subjected to a wide range of abuse—including (according to Michael Peppard) being "written in, ripped or cut with scissors, squatted over, trampled, kicked, urinated and defecated on, picked up by a dog, tossed around like a ball, used to clean soldiers' boots, and thrown in a bucket of excrement." And there was a further, exquisite, refinement: for a Muslim, it is sacrilege to allow the Koran to fall on the floor; by placing a Koran on the back of a bowed and handcuffed prisoner

standing on a dirty floor, the interrogator would, in effect, make a man torture himself.

Clearly, the "religious dilemma" was a powerful one: in Kandahar, prisoners tried to return Korans that had been issued to them by the Red Cross—only to be compelled by US officers to retain them, in order that the desecration might continue. It was the same in Guantanamo. In the words of Michael Peppard:

> "Religious freedom at Guantanamo did not include the freedom *not* to possess a Koran in one's cell ... Mandatory possession of the Koran meant that detainees could be tortured at any time without even being touched."(64)

But this was not all. The "contextualized" torture was comprehensive and sustained. Prayer times were given special attention, with objects banged against holding cages, loud rock music, and the "Star Spangled Banner" played over the *azan* morning and night. Prisoners were forced to eat pork, curse Allah, prostrate themselves in mock prayer inside "satanic" shrines. Some were wrapped in the Israeli flag during interrogation, others were taunted with references to "a holy war ... between the Cross and the Star of David on the one hand, and the Crescent on the other." Indeed, prisoners were constantly being reminded that their abuse was a mark of Christian victory: men were tortured in crucifixion pose, interrogators would kiss the crucifix as they tortured, conduct mock baptisms, make verbal taunts about Christian power. And female interrogators were often used, in order to compound the pressure by playing on fears about ritual impurity (with a particular emphasis on menstrual blood), and presumed Arab attitudes to sexual humiliation. If the object of all this was simply to break people, it clearly worked: the majority of inmates were anything but hardened fighters, and attempted suicides were frequent.

In one rather limited respect, perhaps, the programme served an evangelical purpose. It did succeed in demonstrating to Christians, and (most especially) to non-Christians, the perils of failing to accept Christ as one's personal saviour—and, by implication, the perils of failing to submit to the soldiers of Christ who shed their blood for Iraq and Afghanistan. In this sense, Guantanamo Bay, Abu Ghraib, and other such facilities performed the role of "hell houses" for a Christian army determined to assert its will over a world of non-believers. Such places were meant to be. They had, after all, been ordained by scripture:

> "As the weeds are pulled up and burned in the fire, so it will be at the end of the age. The Son of Man will send out His angels, and they will weed out of His kingdom everything that causes sin and all who do evil. They will throw them into the fiery furnace, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth."
>
> (Matthew 13: 40-42)

In a wider political sense, however, the exercise was hardly a success—at least for the United States. Without doubt, the ritualized abuse of Islam only fuelled Muslim hostility against the West, and generated many more willing fighters for the cause. But for a considerable time, such "counter-terror policy" did provide a powerful insight into the inspiration behind America's view of the world.It has shown, above all, how Christian Dominionism has been put to the service of the most worldly—and ruthless—of geopolitical ambitions.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPERATIVE

Inevitably, the Lausanne deliberations had uncovered a situation, over much of the non-Western world, that was truly grievous. Poverty was endemic, which meant child mortality was high, malnutrition and unemployment levels high, literacy levels low, farm yields low, income distribution badly skewed, and opportunities for betterment—for much of the population—absolutely nil.

The problems, it was acknowledged, were structural, deeply embedded in patterns of injustice and inequality. It was further acknowledged that such patterns were global, and that there was a direct relationship between the wealth of the few (including most Western Christians) and the poverty of the many (including most in the unevangelized parts of the world). This situation was seen as both an indictment of the wealthy, and an opportunity—through evangelizatio—to change things for the better. Accordingly, the Lausanne Covenant recorded the basic concern:

> "We are shocked by the poverty of millions, and disturbed by the injustices which cause it. One quarter of the world's population enjoys unparalleled prosperity, while another quarter endures grinding poverty. This gross disparity is an intolerable injustice; we refuse to acquiesce in it .... The call for a New International Economic Order expresses the justified frustration of the Third World."

Over the next 15 years, consultations were held to emphasize the need for Christians to live modestly and in a fashion consistent with Christ's teachings—there were two consultations on "the simple lifestyle" (in 1979 and 1980), one on the need for socialresponsibility in evangelization (1982), and restatements on various occasions of the basic Christian concern for equity in world affairs. Thus, in the Kaleidoscopic Global Action Plan (1988), this concern was expressed in the form of various Millennial targets for the world. For example:

"(22) Redistribute the great majority of Christian resources of manpower, money, and methods across the world's unevangelized people's and cities strictly according to need by 2000;
"(25) Feed and nourish the world's 600 million people on the verge of starvation both now and up to and during 2000, and see they continue to live nourished lives thereafter;
"(27) Support the W.H.O. goal of safe drinking water for every soul on earth by 2000 and beyond;
"(30) Raise the physical quality of life of all disadvantaged people on Earth to a liveable level by 2000 and even higher levels beyond."...

But pronouncements like this, clearly, were nothing more than pious hopes. Even with some unprecedented push for global development, by all multilateral agencies involved, they just couldn't come to pass.

Nonetheless, the voice of social concern was a politically necessary voice in the Lausanne context. For many it was a sincere one too, even if it was accompanied by the belief that it was prayer, and prayer alone, that could change the world. The problem was, there were many people who were happy to leave it that way—who saw virtue in palliative intervention, but certainly not structural reform. The market, after all, decided what worked and what didn't. Beyond that, the necessity of intervention was already clearly defined, and already the province of existing institutions—such as the World Bank and the I.M.F., the agencies of the United Nations, and the large number of non-governmental organizations, especially evangelical missions, with an interest in aid and relief. Indeed, in 1973, just a year before the Lausanne I meeting, the evangelicals' secular partner had begun to move in earnest—with Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank, announcing the Bank's "crusade on poverty": "The powerful," said McNamara in Nairobi, "have a moral obligation to assist the poor and the weak." It was to prove an ominous announcement. The new "basic needs" strategy, essentially a recognition that the Bank's attention had so far merely intensified rural poverty, was in reality

no more than a Trojan horse for more of the same—as so-called "integrated rural development" strengthened the power of agribusiness interests, from big landlords to multinational corporations to the World Bank bureaucracy itself.(65)

And so, however sincere the voice of concern may have been, the context of the Lausanne movement was a heavy constraint on serious action. After all, at one level Lausanne was merely the religious front for a much more powerful and complex structure of secular interests, and to this extent any statement of social concern (even of religious duty) played a largely cosmetic role in evolving global strategy. Besides, the evangelical movement too, by and large, was either conservative or at best managerial in its attitude to social and economic policy. The movement certainly had the resources to effect development on a significant scale. It had the capital funds, the manpower, the technical back-up, the connections to government. But development was not its real concern. For most agencies, the crucial measures of success were those which concerned rates of conversion to Christianity, growth of the native missionary force, number of churches planted, bibles distributed, children 'adopted'. These were the measures which brought in the funds, and which also pleased many of the larger secular sponsors. Beyond this, improvements in social and economic welfare, on any meaningful global scale, were to be largely neutralized by a realpolitik with very different concerns.

Lausanne, after all, was itself part of Western retaliation against rising anti-Western sentiment in world affairs—retaliation which was designed, in particular, to co-opt or eliminate threats of structural change. For many Third World countries were pushing for such change, to both the world trade system and their own national economies, and were being supported in this by the specialized agencies of the United Nations: the FAO, WHO, UNESCO, ILO, and UNCTAD had all embraced policies that challenged the Western position on development strategy. At the same time, Third World producer power was growing, and in many countries radical alternative

strategies for rural development were beginning to take root as well—such as the basic communities linked to liberation theology in Latin America. Such matters could hardly be unconditionally welcomed by those involved in the Lausanne movement. Lausanne, after all, hadn't been convened to help the Third World disconnect itself from the West. Quite the contrary.

The Western response was evident in the assault on rural-based socialism in Latin America. It was evident in a tightening of the World Bank and IMF grip on Third World economies. And it was evident in the reining in of the United Nations.

But if the framework of institutions dealing with world poverty was to be dismantled, or at least crippled, what could be put in its place? There were good reasons for addressing such problems, and the Lausanne participants recognized this as clearly as did the United States government and United States business. But there was a wider consideration, other than dealing with Third World poverty. And that was the need to reinvigorate, and more fully institutionalize, the process of Westernization—especially after the troubles of the 1960s and early 1970s. This was not just a matter of development models; it was a matter of the health of the capitalist system, and the West's strategic control generally.

What was needed was a domesticated United Nations overall, and a manageable alternative to the UN's aid and development machinery in particular. Accordingly, during the 1970s and 1980s, Western governments embarked on a campaign to emasculate the UN and its specialized agencies, effectively reducing it to managing the collateral damage of the West's expansion, and acts of God—directing aid disbursements, handling environmental disasters, dealing with refugees. At the same time, the role of non-governmental organizations expanded greatly in the field of relief and development—and much of the work hitherto done by government was privatized or semi-privatized, and passed on to a variety of public-private partnerships,

usually heavily dependent on funding by public donation, and strictly constrained by official policy.(66)

The most significant development of all was the expansion of the missionary role in relief and development. In particular, the evangelical movement was now being brought firmly and openly into government dealings with the rest of the world—many agencies were given consultative membership of the United Nations, reported routinely to the US Congress, and received funding from a wide range of government departments (including State, Defense, Labour, Agriculture, and Customs). It was an incorporation that had been well underway when the Lausanne process began in earnest in 1974—and so George W. Bush's "faith initiative', launched in 2001, was merely giving a label to a state of affairs already well established.(67)

But it was a measure of the President's faith that, over the next five years, the management of USAID would be transformed into a veritable fiefdom of evangelical operatives: the new Administrator, Andrew Niatsos, had been a vice-president of World Vision; the head of global health, Anne Petersen, was a former missionary to Zaire and Zimbabwe; and the Deputy Assistant Administrator, Paul Bonicelli, was former dean at the fundamentalist Patrick Henry College in Virginia (where students must sign a statement of faith to the effect that "Satan exists as a personal, malevolent being who acts as tempter and accuser, for whom Hell, the place of eternal punishment, was prepared, where all who die outside of Christ shall be confined in conscious torment for eternity.")

Bonicelli's brief would be to monitor recipient countries for progress towards four key goals: stronger rule of law and respect for human rights; more genuine and competitive political processes; development of a politically active civil society; and more transparent and accountable governance.(68)

Andrew S. Natsios And the Three-legged Stool

For five years, between 1993 and 1998, Andrew Natsios was Vice President of World Vision. During this time, World Vision was deeply involved in a number of humanitarian crises as a provider of "relief and development" aid. At the time of the North Korean famine, for example, the agency was part of a U.S. government-sponsored consortium of NGOs called InterAction (of which Natsios was an Executive Committee member) which delivered food and other supplies, and acted as a conduit for political dialogue with North Korean interests. Over the same period, World Vision was active in Sudan—a country which, in 1997, Clinton added to the list of countries "aiding terrorism". Such experience was of considerable value far beyond the realm of "relief and development." For Natsios himself it provided material for a number of books, such as The Great North Korean Famine (2001), and 'U.S.Foreign Policy and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse' (1997). For the U.S. Government, too, Natsios was clearly a productive asset in a much wider arena. He had, in fact, moved to World Vision from the State Department, where he had been the Director of the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (1989-91) and Assistant Administrator in the Bureau of Food and Humanitarian Assistance (1991-93)—where he had been a key manager of U.S. media coverage of the situation in Somalia. Certainly, there was more to Andrew S. Natsios than mere 'relief and development'.(69)

Between 1975 and 1987, Natsios was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. During this time, he was Chairman of Massachusetts Republican State Committee for seven years, and in 1980 helped manage George H.W.Bush's presidential campaign—a few months before the son of another World Vision executive tried to assassinate Bush's rival, Ronald

Reagan. He remained in state government for another two years, as Executive Director of the Northeast Public Power Association in Massachusetts, before joining the foreign aid business in 1989.

After his time in the State Department and World Vision, Natsios spent a year as Fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace (a government think-tank run by Chester Crocker) before returning to Massachusetts. In 1999 he was appointed Secretary for Administration and Finance, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the following year he became Chairman of the Mass Turnpike Authority. And at this point, Natsios's life becomes a little more complex.

His appointment to the Mass Turnpike Authority came at a critical time. Since 1985, the MTA had been overseeing Boston's "Big Dig"—a massive redevelopment of the city's transportation system, billed as the 'largest public works project in U.S. history'. It was a controversial project—riddled with corruption and inefficiency, it was also seriously over-budget, with an expected final bill of $22 billion. Despite considerable pressure, the MTA declined to take legal action against the two main contractors—Bechtel Corporation and Parsons Brinckerhoff.

Natsios's management skills would soon find a wider market.. In May, 2001, he was appointed by President George Bush as Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, with duty as Special Coordinator for Sudan—a job which involved management of U.S. policy over such issues as Dafur, rebellion in South Sudan, and the disposition of UN and AU peacekeeping forces. But it was not Sudan which would engage Natsios most poignantly. For his brief also included the management of 'post-war' Iraq.

Natsios already had experience of Iraq—as a Lieutenant

Colonel in the U.S. Army Reserve, he had been deployed to the Persian Gulf during Desert Storm as a member of the 354th Civil Affairs Brigade. Now, as one of those in charge of Iraq's 'reconstruction', his task was a little more onerous. Amongst his responsibilities was the granting of contracts. Soon after the bombing began, in April 2003, Natsios announced that the 'post-war reconstruction" would cost the U.S. taxpayer no more than $1.7 billion with a further $600 million coming from 'charities'. It seemed to some a considerable under-estimate. However, calculations such as this missed a key point: Natsios was in fact overseeing the dismemberment of Iraqi state management, and its replacement by private concerns under U.S. corporate control – with the promise of enormous corporate profits. As the Wall Street Journal revealed, USAID had secretly contacted major public works contractors (such as Halliburton and Bechtel) to draw them into the post-war 'reconstruction' effort: Dick Cheney's Halliburton was one beneficiary, George Shultz's Bechtel was another—in April 2003, Bechtel was awarded an 18-month contract, worth $680 million, for repairing the country's water supply system. And Bechtel's partner in the Boston 'Big Dig', Parsons Brinckerhoff, also won a piece of the action, with a contract for electrical repairs. In addition, of course, the corporate NGO sector was a necessary partner—and Natsios's old employer, World Vision, gained a major role in the management of 'humanitarian relief and development' in 'post-war Iraq'.

For his efforts, Natsios was given numerous awards—including the 2003/2004 Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award, and the 2004 Annual Award of the U.S. Army Civil Affairs Association for Outstanding Contributions in the field of Military Civil Affairs. He resigned from USAID in 2005, and took a professorship in The Practice of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, an institution known as the main university source of recruits for the intelligence services in the

U.S.—in the following year, however, he was back with the State Department as President Bush's Special Envoy to Darfur, a job he left in December 2007 to return to Georgetown University. In 2008, Andrew Natsios took up a senior fellowship at Herman Kahn's Hudson Institute.

What was new, then, was the way the corporate and the evangelical roles in foreign aid had been thoroughly institutionalized, as part of the shift towards the "Third Way" of combining market-oriented policies with an expansion of NGO involvement in collateral relief management. It was Drucker's "three-legged stool" of State, Church, and Corporation—all working together, claimed Drucker, to maintain a "healthy society and healthy economy". Although it could hardly be incidental that the arrangement ensured the State its strategic control, the Church its continued expansion, and the Corporation its high profitability. And this remained the context within which the world's poor would be ministered to.

The non-Western poor were important for three reasons: they were souls to be saved; they were potential seedbeds for political discontent, and they often occupied strategically significant territory. They fell broadly into four main categories:

(a) *Women and children*—Amongst the chronically poor, the evangelist targets most needs in one way or another: schemes for better water supply, seed distribution, school building, primary health care, micro credit, and so on.(70) For a variety of reasons, though, emphasis tends to be placed upon women and children: women are seen to represent a more penetrable target religiously and culturally—they are deemed to be exploited by male authority, and also have a closer influence on children; children, for their part, are impressionable, represent the main entry for the evangelist into the crucial area of education—furthermore, it is often stressed, over 85% of the world's Christians become Christian before the age of 15.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, an emphasis on women and children makes good publicity and generates income.

(b) *Disaster victims*—People who are both poor and traumatized are doubly receptive. But there is a wider opportunity, in the aftermath of a disaster, to establish a presence in a society which may hitherto have been hard to penetrate. Disaster, as Naomi Klein has observed, offers a wide range of strategic opportunities to Western interests, and evangelical agencies are well-equipped for the event—to serve both their own spiritual ends and those of their secular sponsors.

(c) *Conflict victims*—When the agencies concerned are identifiable with one or another of the combatants (as in Afghanistan and Iraq), even greater subterfuge than usual is clearly necessary, although the benefits may well be worth it—having a long-term foothold in a strategic Muslim country, for example. But evangelists have traditionally followed the military—and US evangelical groups have a solid track record of establishing a strategically useful presence in theatres of US military activity. Refugee camps are especially important for the opportunities they offer to penetrate disaffected or vulnerable (and often ethnically specific) communities in highly sensitive territory such as border areas. The handling of food aid to conflict victims, useful as a bargaining tool, is usually in the hands of missionary agencies—the significance of World Vision is notable in this respect.

(d) *The sick*—Medical aid, of course, is needed in all relief situations.(71) But there are circumstances when the ill are specifically and strategically targeted. The AIDS pandemic in Africa is an example of this: all the main partners in evangelization—USAID, the corporations, and the evangelical agencies themselves—recognize that dealing with HIV/AIDS provides good cover for a range of other activities, as well as having a strong Christian resonance. For USAID, fighting HIV/AIDS has "top priority, not only for humanitarian

reasons, but because the HIV/AIDS crisis threatens the prosperity, stability, and development of nations around the world ...." And USAID sees the HIV/AIDS issue as especially useful for justifying the presence under its umbrella of the evangelical agencies: it is "an issue that fits with the Christian message ... and with the righteous living and moral standpoint (of Christianity) ... equally important is the church's role in giving a message of forgiveness, of compassion, of caring for the sick, of caring for widows and orphans; there's almost no part of the AIDS epidemic where the faith orientation doesn't have a very, very strong message." (Anne Petersen, head of global health programs, USAID, Feb., 2004). Understandably, therefore, a host of charity campaigns ride on the back of the HIV/AIDS pandemic: for example, the ONE Campaign to Make Poverty History, Bono and Shriver's Red Campaign (wherein a percentage of the sale of Red-branded products goes to HIV/AIDS programmes), the Global Fund (a World Bank-backed "three-legged stool" scheme to direct private funds to fighting AIDS, TB, and malaria), the Gates' Foundation programme, and (connecting with the Global Fund and various other schemes) Rick Warren's PEACE project.(72)

Ultimately, though, for many evangelicals, Third World poverty is proof of "God's curse", and to this extent can be managed but never overcome. "Poverty," according to David Chilton, of the Institute of Christian Economics, is how "God controls heathen cultures; they must spend so much time surviving that they are unable to exercise ungodly dominion over the earth." For such evangelicals, the poor's salvation can lie only in their conversion to a Christian God.

Rwanda: Light in the Heart of Darkness

Since 2001, Africa has become a crucial laboratory for the "three-legged stool" partnership. The choice of Africa is revealing. Certainly, the "curse of God" would seem to hang heavily here. The most severely underdeveloped of all the continents, Africa has some of

the worst poverty in the world, the highest rates of pandemic diseases like HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria, the highest rates of malnutrition and undernutrition, and the highest levels of exposure to the effects of global warming. It also has a large number of politically unstable states, and severe inter-ethnic conflict both within and across national borders. It has large tribal (and animistic) populations, but also large and increasing populations of Christians and nominal Christians—and in this respect, Africa strikes a particularly plangent note for many in the Christian West because of their shared experience of slavery. Furthermore, Africa's Muslim population (concentrated in West and Northern Africa) is also large, and deemed to be increasingly radicalized. Partly for this reason, and also because of the presence of large reserves of strategic minerals, Africa has been given a vastly enhanced significance in US foreign policy. The continent is regarded as a major source of Islamic anti-Westernism, which is seen to spill over into other Muslim regions where US interests are important. Besides, Africa currently provides 15% of US oil imports (expected to rise to over 30% by 2015), as well as large amounts of diamonds, uranium, coltan, copper, and other minerals—especially from the Congo.(73) Because of such considerations, the United States is creating a unified military command for Africa—known as Africom—which became operational by 2008.

It is against this background that a growing concern with African poverty must be viewed, and it is in terms of the ability of "three-legged" relief operations to solve the continent's fundamental problems that the true value of such concern needs to be measured. All the main publicity campaigns behind such operations have made African conditions the main selling point for their activities—Live Aid, Comic Relief, Make Poverty History, the ONE campaign, the Buy Red Campaign included. All the main philanthropic foundations and individuals now have particular focus on Africa—Pew, Lilly, Ford, Conrad N. Hilton, Bill and Melissa Gates, Warren Buffet, Ted Turner, and Bono amongst them. And the evangelical agencies themselves, of course, are particularly present.

There are many examples of the "three-legged stool" approach being applied to Africa's development needs. The West Africa Water Initiative is a $41 million programme providing water supply, sanitation, and hygiene services to Ghana, Mali, and Niger. The programme is part of the USAID Global Development Alliance arrangement, and involves (amongst others) the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation and World Vision.(74) In Angola, local government ministries, World Vision, and Chevron (the main oil-producing company in Angola) have teamed up to distribute new seed varieties. Sometimes, such schemes founder because of local opposition and other, more subtle, reasons. Bruce Wilkinson's "Dream for Africa", for example, was an ambitious scheme, based in Swaziland, to develop village food self-sufficiency and combat HIV/AIDS. Wilkinson, a wealthy American preacher, had brought in $15 million of USAID money, Christian volunteers from the US, World Vision, local pastors, and companies such as General Motors. But insensitivity towards such matters as Swazi land tenure, family patterns, and political pride meant that, in 2005, the scheme had to be aborted.(75)

Of all the tripartite relief projects being experimented with in Africa, the most ambitious, and the most controversial, is Rick Warren's P.E.A.C.E. plan. The acronym stands for Plant Churches, Equip Servant Leaders, Assist the Poor, Care for the Sick, and Educate the next generation. The Christian flavour is obvious, but the acronym conceals much deeper meanings.

P.E.A.C.E. is based in Congo's neighbour Rwanda, where in 1994, some 900,000 people were massacred in a brief but efficient pogrom. Most of the dead were Protestant Tutsis, killed by members of the Catholic Hutu majority. Ten years later, the Rwandan government was effectively twinned with Warren's Saddleback Church in California, as test-bed for the pastor's plan to evangelize the globe with an American-style Christianity based upon concepts borrowed from Peter Drucker, Intel, and McDonalds Corporation.

Rick Warren is a Southern Baptist, a disciple of Drucker, and a doctoral graduate from Fuller—where his "academic mentor" was C. Peter Wagner. His Saddleback Church has a congregation of 22,000, and is one of the biggest and most aggressive "mega-churches" in the US. The Saddleback Church is a "purpose-driven church" run along business management lines and strictly geared, among other things, to financial, training, and outreach targets set by Warren—as are 30,000 other churches in the United State, all Warren-inspired.

Rick Warren, above all, is a businessman. He is pastor to Rupert Murdoch, who owns the publishing company Zondervan—which controls 50% of the bible publishing business in the United States, and also publishes Rick Warren's book "The Purpose Driven Life." According to Forbes Magazine, "The Purpose Driven Life" is the best book on entrepreneurship, management, and leadership in print. With sales of over 40 million, it is also the best-selling hardback in American history. Not surprisingly, "The Purpose Driven Life" has made money for Warren - $20 to $30 million a year since 2001, 80% of which he ploughs into P.E.A.C.E.(76)

Warren's Rwandan partner is the president, Paul Kagame. Kagame is a Tutsi and a Protestant, who plays videos of the Jesus Film to waiting visitors at his offices. Before becoming Rwanda's leader, he was the head of military intelligence under Uganda's Yuweri Musuveni, another evangelical Christian—and 'close friend' of The Family 'prayer group' in Washington. Kagame retains his strong ties with Uganda, which is the strategic hub for the United States' penetration of the continent—the Rwandan Patriotic Front army is Ugandan-trained, and both Rwandan and Ugandan soldiers are trained at U.S. Special Forces camps. For some years, Kagame's army, and the Ugandan army, have been deeply involved in 'securing' the mineral-producing areas of neighbouring Congo.(77) Kagame has also visited Saddleback Church, where 16 of Rwanda's religious leaders have been trained. With Rick Warren's help, Paul Kagame

wants to turn his country into the world"s first "purpose-driven country."

Ostensibly, Warren's vision for Rwanda is to turn the economy into a "knowledge economy", based upon the Drucker model, by 2020. In support of this, Warren will feed into the society a network of small "purpose-driven" village churches, funded by U.S. philanthropy, uniting the country and serving its community needs—HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment, for example, and schooling.

The "template" for such a network, says Warren, is McDonalds:

> "The average McDonalds makes $1 million a year and it's run by kids. It's goof-proof. As a result, you can buy McDonalds almost anywhere in the world. We need the same thing ... the 'church in a box' plan could include showing a Christian movie, the designated pastor listening to tapes everyday and teaching what they learned to villagers, and other 'how-to' programmes to make setting up a church simple."

The village "church-in-a-box", of course, is just one element of a much wider plan, in which local self-sufficiency has no role to play: the essence of Warren's plan is centralization, standardization, rigid quality control of all aspects of "human capital", and therefore tight social engineering: the "purpose-driven" formula, Warren says, is like an Intel operating chip that can be inserted into the motherboard of any church, anywhere in the world. Or, for that matter, any corporation or country. To some, the experiment is driven by the imperative of dominionist theology. "Warren's global plan," says Jonathan Hutson,

> "... is a strategy to realize a dominionist vision of churches, states, and corporations forming partnerships to bring about a new world order to make way for Christ's return, by establishing a literal, physical kingdom of God on earth".

But Warren is first and foremost a businessman. He is very much aware that he is entering a jungle in more ways than one: "Are you going to rip me off?" he warns the Rwandans on arrival. "... I have the ability to bring in resources and investors." Warren's Saddleback empire, in other words, has a power that Rwandans could only dream of.

Warren's brand of high-powered entrepreneurship brings together a wide range of partners in the service of U.S. evangelization. His vision is one both George W. Bush and Barack Obama share. Warren has shared prayer breakfast at the White House, and so has the singer Bono—who is one of Warren's benefactors, sharing a similar vision for Africa, articulated in a similarly business-wise fashion. Warren attended the White House Summit on Malaria, Time Magazine's Global Health Summit in October 2005, and various international HIV/AIDS conferences, where he networked with Bill Gates, Bill Clinton, Ted Turner, and the then president-by-appointment of the World Bank, Paul Wolfowitz. Having awarded Bush his organization's PEACE prize, Warren went on to officiate at Obama's inauguration in 2009. And last, but certainly not least, Warren is able to draw into his evangelical assault the most powerful of corporate sponsors—from Murdoch's NewsCorp and Bill Gate's Microsoft downwards.(78)

Warren's P.E.A.C.E. initiative, of course, is not unique in Africa. There are many similar, and related enterprises which combine the church and corporate funding in the service of foreign policy goals. The Tony Blair Faith Foundation, for example, is partly modeled on Warren's organization. The TBFF, too, stresses the role of churches as agents of social and political control, and as conduits of development funding—in particular of Western corporate investment, both direct and philanthropic. And the focus on Rwanda as a laboratory for such ideas is something that Blair shares with Rick Warren. In early 2008, Blair became an "unpaid consultant" to President Kagame—in order "to develop better ways of working at the heart of the Rwandan

Government and to attract private investment." And when Blair created his Faith Foundation in the same year, he made Rick Warren its key Christian advisor. (78)

Rwanda's ten million people, meanwhile, are effectively the guinea pigs in a much wider strategic experiment. The country is now well incorporated into the West's new strategic design for Central Africa, source of much of the world's reserves of oil, diamonds, gold, and (especially) coltan—Rwanda's newest military base, for example, is one of a number in the region built by Brown and Root, a subsidiary of Halliburtons. Warren's P.E.A.C.E. project will build on such foundations. Apart from the attention of Saddleback's pastor, Rwanda will receive AIDS drugs and computers at subsidized rates. It will also benefit, hopefully, from the attention given it by Warren associates in the business of luxury resort development—especially around Lake Rwanda. Kagame's ambition of creating a fully "knowledge-based economy"—or the world"s first "purpose-driven nation"—by 2020 may even come to pass. In the process, though, Warren will have created a model for the corporate-friendly social control of poor non-Western populations—in regions where it is strategically useful to be.

THE INFRASTRUCTURAL IMPERATIVE

The evangelical movement must have a global reach. It must also be able to penetrate—physically and with all the accoutrements of trade —some of the most remote, inaccessible, and hostile regions of the world. By definition, it must be able to spread—and to hold—its influence in all parts of the Devil's dominions, whether these be crowded cities, peasant villages, forest tribes, or desert war zones. It must be able to distribute many millions of units of a standardized product, packaged appropriately for thousands of different markets across the globe, as well as even larger quantities of supporting products—food, medicines, equipment, clothes, toys ....

To a large extent, the movement can depend on its partners in government, in the military, in big corporations—but its own resources are still very considerable, and indeed, often utilized by the partners in turn. The relationship is very much a reciprocal one.

The essential networks are many and varied. There must be networks, globally-efficient and up-to-date, for such things as fund-raising, recruitment, prayer, radio and television broadcasting, air and sea transport, food and medicine distribution, book publishing and distribution,and computer-based intelligence—including mapping systems, and cultural and linguistic databanks and their link-ups. And without question, the evangelical agencies have what they need.

Take, for example, missionary aviation. For an enterprise as vast as the evangelical movement, there is a huge need for purpose-designed air services to move missionary supplies of food, medicines, literature, technical support, and personnel—and to do so, very often, in remote or difficult environments. In Latin America, Africa, and Asia, Christian mission and aviation have long been inseparable:

> "The airplane," in the words of Proclaim Aviation Ministries, "has been like a mighty rushing wind to modern missions ... God has creatively used the technology of aviation as an inspiring tailwind for the spread of His Gospel. It has sheared literally years off of bible translation projects and multiplied the planting of churches in otherwise unreachable villages."

It is a technology that the evangelicals have exploited well. There are now over 170 mission groups using aviation as part of their ministry. Such groups vary greatly, however, in size, operational complexity, and global reach. The largest, Mission Aviation Fellowship, with 134 aircraft, is a diversified servicing organization which embraces missionary training, computer services, data-banking and research, as well as missionary air support; while many of the smallest (such as Servant Air, with three aircraft, and Missionary Flights International,

with four) are more regionally focused and operationally simple. Inevitably, a few large concerns dominate the business: four agencies (MAF, JAARS, New Tribes Mission, and AIM International) hold over 200 aircraft between them. Nevertheless, the combined fleet owned by mission groups totals well over 600 aircraft—comprising mostly small planes like Cessnas and Bell helicopters, but also including a number of DC3s, Franklin Graham's Dassault Falcon 50, and Operation Blessing's Lockheed Tristar. Behind this fleet sits a wide-ranging and efficient network of training facilities (such as Moody Bible Institute, Le Tourneau University, and Proclaim Aviation), technical servicing organizations (such as Partners in Aviation and Communications Technologies), and professional associations like the International Association of Missionary Aviation and the 1,200-member Christian Pilots Association. In addition to this immediate network, of course, the wider evangelical movement provides considerable support through a multiplicity of linkages: World Vision, for example, has a vital interest in Christian aviation—the founder of Christian Pilots Association (Howard Payne), was a World Vision Director of Development, and World Vision has long worked in close cooperation with agencies like MAF, especially in Africa and Latin America.

In recent years, however, the inadequacies of mission aviation have become more apparent: rising fuel prices have pressed harder on smaller operators, older aircraft need replacing, the scale and complexity of operations are increasing, and technology has evolved to offer new opportunities. The need for modernization has been met in various ways, but one programme in particular illustrates the scale and the complexity of the response. It was very clear, by the early 1990s, that the mission movement needed to up-grade its fleet of aircraft. To this end, some of the larger mission agencies (like MAF, NTM, JAARS, and World Vision) set up a consortium, with support from corporate philanthropy in the form of The Seattle Foundation(79) and the Northwest Christian Community Foundation, to sponsor the production of a new generation of missionary aircraft—better suited

to tropical climates, powered by jet fuel (rather than the more costly avgas), with a much larger payload, and capable of short take-off and landing (or STOL). The aircraft, known as the Kodiak, would be designed, developed, built, and FAA-certified with the help of mission funds, in return for which the mission groups would receive a discount on purchase. The initial design and development of the Kodiak was done by MAF, which put some $25 million of its funds into the project—out of a total of $41 million. However, MAF, because of its 'non-profit' status, could not proceed to commercial production. A private company, Quest Aircraft, was therefore founded in 1999 to complete the work. By 2007, Quest already had more than 50 orders—including six from MAF itself, 14 from the New Tribes Mission, 10 from JAARS, and 12 from AIM International At a little under $1.3 million, the cost of the ten-seater Kodiak compared favourably with that of a similar capacity Cessna. The Kodiak, however, was a fully missionary production.(80)

It was not, of course, aimed solely at the missionary market. It was promoted as a valuable addition to any enterprise in remote and difficult territory, whether that be humanitarian, commercial, or military. With its STOL capability, and its ability to operate well in warm, 'thick' air, it was particularly suited to regions of deep tropical forest such as Brazil and Papua—where groups like NTM planned to use it, and where mining and timber extraction might also benefit. Indeed, it was fully intended that commercial production for such markets would act as a subsidy for sales to the mission sector. The Kodiak project, in other words, was just another instance of the overlap between evangelical and secular expansion into the world's 'peripheral' places.

In terms of both technology and management systems, then, the evangelical movement is now as well-endowed as many a large multinational corporation. Indeed, there are individual mission agencies which, in size and structure, could easily rival a good-sized multinational company. But these individual agencies are themselves

just parts of an immense and tightly-controlled network of global operators in a myriad fields of expertise and specialization, united in a way that only religious zeal could achieve—and a religious zeal, it must be said, strongly boosted by the urge for profit. The ethos is encapsulated by the evangelist Loren Davis' appeal for funds: "Investing in the Ministry will give you a MAXIMUM RETURN ON SOULS for heaven." And it works.

The Electronic Infrastructure: Statistics are Signs from God(81)

One of the most important results of the Lausanne movement was the production of a number of wide-ranging and carefully-focused strategic plans. Drawing heavily on corporate models, those in charge of the process sought to unite the entire evangelical effort towards a set of clear goals, using (and expanding) resources to the maximum efficiency. Inevitably, the date which focused attention was the year 2000, and one of the key statements of strategy was that of the AD2000 And Beyond Movement, which set down a framework of goals for evangelicals to aim for in their global proselytizing—targets for reaching 'unreached people groups', for recruiting local missionaries, for church-planting, for church membership, for recruiting 'decision-makers' in target countries, for distributing the Bible, for showing the 'Jesus Film', and so on. The targets were clear, if often ambitious. What was needed was effective organization.

The evangelical movement had a particular need for advanced computer and telecommunications systems. It needed to locate and classify billions of people, and translate and minister in nearly 7,000 of their languages. It needed to coordinate the activities of many hundreds of agencies, with some half million full-time workers and many millions of part-time volunteers. Most agencies, of course, had a degree of technical self-sufficiency in terms of computer facilities. But it was in the nature of the system that all should be closely interlinked

electronically at most levels of operation—logistics, recruitment and staff placement, political and cultural intelligence, prayer networking, and so on. And it was in the nature of "spiritual warfare" that, after prayer, the computer was the most important weapon of all.

In 1988, Lausanne's Kaleidoscopic Global Action Plan spelt out one of the movement's goals:

> "Building on the current status and existing plans of 78 global mega plans and 33 global giga-plans, as well as the rest of some 200 plans ... (to) link the world's 350 million Christian-owned computers by AD2000 into one global giga-network to facilitate Great Commission information exchange." (82)

And when the World Prayer Center opened 10 years later, C. Peter Wagner expressed his goal in a similar vein:

> "We see our task as getting people in touch with one another to form interactive human web networks that are properly equipped to wage effective spiritual warfare .... Never in the history of the world has it been possible to link believers throughout the world. The coordinated prayers of God's people will be concentrated on His objectives."

Not surprisingly, the Lausanne process was accompanied by a major effort to both modernize existing agencies and create new ones for the purposes that Lausanne identified. As a result, from the early seventies onwards, the evangelical movement acquired a massive addition of computer hardware and expertise, and a technocratic frame of mind that blended well with the corporate management input of people like Drucker.

The AD2000 and Beyond Movement (which officially ended in 2001) set much of the organizational and ideological framework. In particular, it inspired the development of numerous networks

geared to collecting and distributing information for the benefit of missionaries (and others) working in non-Western areas—networks which, with extensive elaboration, continue to operate today. One such network is the Harvest Information System (or HIS).

HIS is basically a set of databases of ethno-linguistic and church material, controlled by five 'registry stewards"—Global Mapping International, the SBC International Mission Board, JAARS, Wycliffe International, and xGlobal Mission Innovation. These 'stewards' in turn liaise with the main user groups, such as Adopt-A-People Clearing House, the Jesus Film Project, the Joshua Project, Global Recordings Network, and People Groups Org., who themselves go on to connect with the 600-odd mission groups in the field. There are other global data-bases—for example, the Peoples Information Network (PIN), the World Christian Encyclopaedia, and SIL's Ethnologue—but all are in one way or another interconnected and strategically directed.(83)

Overall, there are more than 70 'missions resource organizations' helping to gather, pool, and distribute mission resources—especially intelligence. These include such groups as Accelerating International Mission Strategies (AIMS), the Caleb Project, Window International Network (WIN), Global Opportunities, Gospel Recordings. SBC-IMB, the Jesus Film Project, MidEast Media, Network for Strategic Mission, the Sentinel Group, USCWM, the Zwemer Institute, and Wycliffe Bible Translators. All these, and many others, have a particular focus on 'unreached peoples'—and on the business of 'adopting' such groups by the global church network, using the 'Adoption Counsellors" which most of the agencies provide for the purpose. By any measure, it is a formidable 'intelligence' network. (84)

For some time, as the network evolved, most of the technical support for Lausanne's needs was provided by the World Vision affiliate, Missions Advanced Research and Communications Center.

The field was widened significantly with the founding of the United States Center for World Mission in 1976, and in 1983 one of the most important of all specialist computer-driven agencies—Global Mapping International—was created as a USCWM affiliate out of the Strategy, Research, and Planning Department of Overseas Crusades (OC International). Global Mapping International has dedicated itself to furthering the cause of world evangelization through digital mapping, information resources, and mission research—and acting as a support agency for all other agencies, and for all the main projects pursued as part of the Lausanne process. Thus, it has cooperated with such groups as SIL/WBT, DAWN, World Vision, and the International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, and it has had an indispensable role to play in developing the Joshua Project, and Patrick Johnstone's massive evangelical compendium "Operation World".

In the early 1990s, GMI developed the Global Ministry Mapping System, built around ESRI's powerful ArcView 9.2 GIS software, and licensed exclusively for Christian ministry use by members of the GMMS community. Youth With a Mission, for example, uses the system to measure the degree of Christian penetration or "unreachedness" by identifying 4000 "Omega Zones", according to a monitoring grid of over 160 cultural and demographic criteria—in order to produce, in "simple but clear form", the image of "the empty place" or the "unreached zone", to inspire "a new Spirit-led, pioneering thrust until all the empty places are filled with living expressions of God's love and care." (GMI World, Spring 2004)(85)

GMI has also produced many of the key global geographic databases used by evangelicals, including the World Language Mapping System, the World of Islam Map Set, and the Focus on Southeast Asia Map Set, as well as a wide range of cultural and linguistic guide-books for missionaries. Its expertise is regularly shared in workshops for local missionary groups in such countries as Egypt, Nigeria, Korea, and India, in which it teaches the use of computer mapping, for example,

to analyze, plan, track, and communicate the work of missionary teams—and in the process helps to cement strategic alliances with local ministries in key locations where projects like the Joshua Project are underway. In 1997, the agency's brief expanded to include the connecting of information technology with leadership training, through a merger with Missionary Aviation Fellowship (which itself has vastly expanded its computer capabilities) and Development Associates International.

If mapping the "unreached peoples" of the world gave computerization a boost amongst evangelicals, the arrival of "spiritual mapping" charged it even more dramatically. The techniques of "spiritual mapping" were devised in the early 1990s by George Otis Jnr, as an aid for evangelicals in waging "strategic-level warfare" —or what Wagner defines as "discerning and praying against territorial spirits assigned to a community." In other words, for prayer to be effective, it had to be based upon sound research concerning the spiritual profile, or spiritual climate, of the location being prayed for—spiritual mapping, plotting all relevant data, both identifies areas requiring prayer and gives those already identified a much clearer focus for the people praying for them. The data could be from anywhere—credit records, prison records, mail shot lists, newspaper cuttings, church records, door-to-door canvassing, pin coded and area classified material of all descriptions—and it all had to be digitized and mapped with the help of cell grids. In this way, Satan's various strongholds could be given precise definition, and exact geographic location, and prayer could be strategically and very effectively directed.

There may be reservations about the effectiveness of such an approach to society's problems, and about its theological or moral justification, but, inevitably, spiritual mapping gave plenty of work to agencies like Global Mapping International (which worked closely on the Otis project), and led to the creation of a number of custom-made agencies, such as Otis' own Sentinel Group and the AD2000

United Prayer Track's Spiritual Mapping Division, which Otis also heads. And for millions of Americans, and evangelicals in Korea, Africa, India, Australia, and Europe, spiritual mapping made the connection between computers and Christ an essential and life-changing connection.

The Family That Prays Together Stays Together

Amongst evangelicals, the sanctity of the family is an unbreakable tenet. It is a partnership in faith, as much as anything—and the evangelical movement contains some interesting examples of such partnerships in faith. Bill Bright's wife Vonette worked tirelessly with her husband on his Campus Crusade for Christ—even organizing one of the largest prayer assemblies ever held, in Seoul, in furtherance of the cause. Billy Graham's family was even more supportive: nephew Ernest designed evangelical camps in Guyana for resettled Hmong from Vietnam; son Franklin managed the World Vision spin-off agency Samaritan's Purse—and carried a crusading flag against Islam; a son-in-law heads the missionary agency World Help, which removed Acehnese children to the safety of a Christian orphanage in Jakarta after the tsunami hit; and brother-in-law Leighton Ford joined World Vision and helped to organize the Lausanne Movement. Again in World Vision, when ex-Marine Corps Captain Robert Seiple resigned as President after 11 years, he set up the agency's "think tank" Institute for Global Engagement, led it for a couple of years, and then passed it on to his son, ex-Marine Corps Captain Chris Seiple.

Another president of World Vision was John Hinckley Snr, whose oil company, Vanderbilt Energy, was at one point bailed out of financial difficulty by George Bush Snr, who was also in the oil business. The Hinckley-Bush connection was a

problematically close one—Hinckley's son, John Hinckley Jnr (who worked in a World Vision refugee camp) shot Ronald Reagan and almost killed him. At least, that was the FBI's story.

And what of George Otis Jnr, who drew maps of the Devil's playgrounds? His father was George Otis Snr, who founded the Voice of Hope radio station in Lebanon. In 1982, during the Sabra and Shatila massacres, Israel handed the Voice of Hope radio station to the Phalangists, so that they could be better directed in what they were doing. And to indicate the strength of his faith after that, George Senior took his radio station to Jerusalem when the Israelis made a tactical retreat from Southern Lebanon.(86)

We are, as the evangelicals tell us, all part of God's familiy.

The Book Business

One area of evangelical activity that benefited enormously from the arrival of the computer was bible translation. Translation of the Bible, for Christians, has been a perennial problem—the book is, after all, a compendium of contributions by different writers over a number of centuries, in Aramaic, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and Western Christians have argued amongst themselves for over 1,500 years about the validity of their translations. There are over 50 different versions of the Bible in English alone, and as the European colonial empires expanded, many more versions were added to the list.

Then, after the Second World War, the West's evangelical push began in earnest. And as the Lausanne Movement progressed, and as pursuit of the "unreached" grew more ardent, the problems of translation would have become almost insurmountable—were it not for the rapid advance of computing as a missionary tool. The

evangelists had identified some 6,900 languages in the world, each with its own array of cultural qualifiers, its own particular construction of spirituality, and they set out to translate the Bible (or at least large parts of it) into every one.

The effort has consumed many millions of man-hours, and involved—in one way or another—most of the agencies involved in evangelization, and the use of countless computers. And it was the decisions taken at Lausanne, in particular on "contextualizing" the Christian message, that made the task especially formidable. Now, in order to make the product more palatable, translators had to build into its packaging a great deal more anthropological, linguistic, and socio-economic awareness than had previously been considered necessary. Consequently, the need for extensive data banks, accessible at the touch of a button, was paramount. But it worked both ways: the availability of a vast and accessible store of intelligence allowed the evangelists to fine-tune (at least by their own understanding) the delivery of their message to ever more specific cultural groups and sub-groups.

By 2005, the Bible had been wholly or partially translated into 2,400 languages. For 1,600 languages (spoken by about one billion people), translations are underway, and a further 2,500 languages (270 million people) are judged as needing translation. To date, the entire Bible has been translated into 366 languages, and the New Testament alone has been translated into a further 928 languages, while individual books—such as the Gospel of St John —are available in another 918 languages.

But it must be remembered that this is a book which the translators themselves have no clear agreement on in their own language, let alone 7,000 others. The essential disagreement is over the general significance of holy scripture—should it be taken literally or not? The fundamentalists who argue it should be stand in strong opposition to most of the modern translations of the Bible, which

in their eyes have been corrupted by cultures often far removed from the true meaning of God's Word—and this includes the 19th century Greek New Testament which most modern translations into English use as their basis. The "modernists", on the other hand, see the literal version as archaic and lifeless, unsuited to more complex—and perhaps more frivolous—times. The modern (and by far the majority) preference amongst translators is for the "dynamic equivalence" method of translating—also known as "common language translation", "idiomatic translation", "indirect transfer translation", and "thought translation"—where the emphasis is on a general equivalence of meaning, expressed in language chosen for a particular audience.(87)

And so there are many reasons why bible translation is an enormous business. Firstly, there is the disagreement over which historic rendition to use. Secondly, there is the disagreement over how to present the text to one's own society, in one's own language. And thirdly, there is the problem of producing translations for nearly 7,000 other languages, amongst people belonging to some 10,000 different cultural groups and sub-groups.(88)

Internationally, there are three main bodies translating the Bible using the "dynamic equivalence" approach. Wycliffe Bible Translators, based in a large new translation centre in Dallas (funded by the oil magnate N.B.Hunt and Bright's Campus Crusade), are considered to be, technically, the most advanced translators in the world. The others are the United Bible Societies (UBS), which embraces 135 national Bible Societies including the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the International Bible Society (which grew out of the New York Bible Society, and merged with Living Bibles International in 1992). Together, these bodies are responsible for the translations on which most modern published Bibles depend: the Good News Bible (which has sold over 7 million copies since was first published as Today's English Version in 1976); the Living Bible (which has sold 23 million

since 1971); and the New International Version (sponsored by the I.B.S. and published in 1978, since when it has sold over 100 million.) (89)

The merging of translating bodies is very much a response to the kind of evangelical growth that Lausanne has overseen during the past 30 years. The merger between I.B.S. and L.B.I. in 1992, for example, linked the New International Version, the Wycliffe/SIL translating partnership, and the global activities of both I.B.S. and L.B.I. And in particular, the Wycliffe/SIL connection greatly helped the effort to produce Bible material for the world's smaller language groups: in five years, it allowed the publication of 166 New Testaments, and 1283 different Scripture publications in 506 languages. This effort was followed, over the ensuing five years (1997-2002) by a major expansion of global scripture distribution called "Let There Be Light", which was expected to result in another 50 translations of the New Testament and 150 Scripture publications based on the Good News/ Living Bible model of "dynamic equivalence."

But it is not only in translation that the modern Bible has its variety. The Bible, after all, is a commodity—and a key product in a heavily commercial business. In 2006, the total Christian retail market was worth about $4.6 billion—that is, more than twice the value of the entire United Nations budget. In the United States alone, the net revenue from religious book sales was $2.4 billion. And much of this is generated by a market approach which is geared to manufacturing demand by diversifying the product.(90) Zondervan's marketing campaign for its launch of Today's New International Version (in February 2005) illustrates this.

The launch was supported with advertisements in magazines such as Rolling Stone and Modern Bride, and online sites such as VH1.com, MTV.com and AOL.com—places where 18-34 year olds could be reached. And in addition to hardcover and softcover editions of the full TNIV Bible, the launch included such products as:

TNIV Church Bible ("the Bible for today's generation of churches");
The Story ("a chronological abridgement of Scripture formatted like a novel");
True Identity: The Bible for Women ("an innovative new Bible for women");
Strive: The Bible for Men ("an innovative new Bible for men");
Beginning the Journey ("a low-cost TNIV evangelism edition published in partnership with the Willow Creek Association, featuring Genesis, Deuteronomy, John, Acts and Romans, giving readers an over view of the Bible");
TNIV Audio New Testament Bible ("diverse-voice recording of the New Testament");
TNIV Pocket Bible ("the full-text of the TNIV in a pocket-sized edition"); and
TNIV Thinline Bible ("full-text premium Bible in assorted Italian Duo-Tone ™ and European leather bindings")

Zondervan advertises itself as the "leading Christian communications company in the world." A division of Murdoch's HarperCollins Publishers, the company produces Bibles, books, new media products, gift products (from its Inspirio group) and children's products (from its Zonderkidz group). It is the world's leading Bible publisher, and holds exclusive North American rights to the New International Version. In the United States, Zondervan has 50% of the Bible business (while Thomas Nelson Inc. of Nashville has 38%).

And yet the Bible is not Zondervan's most popular religious publication. That honour goes to Rick Warren's "The Purpose Driven Life", published in 2001 and a sequel to his "The Purpose Driven Church". "The Purpose Driven Life"—essentially a Christian guide to managing people for profit—has sold over 40 million copies in just over seven years.

Chapter Four

SPONSOR A CHILD FROM 60 PENCE A DAY: The Hidden History of World Vision

THERE can be no doubt that, of all "relief and development" charities, World Vision is by far the best known. Hundreds of millions of people will know of its child sponsorship activities in poor countries. And in the Western World, many millions of people will have donated to the group, their hearts moved by the images of village children in Mali, or India, or Guatemala, carrying water from the well, sitting at a makeshift desk in a makeshift school, or minding the baby on an earthen doorstep while mother grinds the millet ... (91)

As the President of World Vision, Richard Stearns, said in May 2007: "The real secret of our fund-raising is the notion of child sponsorship .... It is much easier to raise money to help a specific child. It makes it personal."(92)

World Vision is the largest "privately-funded" Christian relief and development organization in the world. Like most Christian charity groups, it has grown rapidly over the past twenty years: its revenue in 1987 was about $145 million; it is now in excess of $2 billion—about

half of which comes from "child sponsorship" donations. World Vision publicity claims that the charity's donors sponsor more than 2.2 million children. They also help support more than 22,000 full-time staff.

There is no doubt that World Vision is one of the most important players in the relief and development business today. It is, in its own words, "a complex, global humanitarian organization working with some 100 million people in 100 countries." Amongst other achievements, it has become the largest provider of emergency relief food in the world. If there is one institution that clearly defines the Western "relief and development" presence in the non-Western world today, it is not Oxfam, it is not Christian Aid, it is not the United Nations. It is World Vision.

And so, what exactly is World Vision?

World Vision began as a beam in the eye of a Youth for Christ preacher called Bob Pierce. Pierce had been in China and Korea, around the time of the Korean War, and had been moved by the plight of refugees, especially children—and by the opportunity that such plight presented to spread the Christian gospel. Accordingly, in 1950, Bob Pierce founded World Vision.

During the 1960s, the group expanded and gradually moved away from Pierce's original focus on evangelical charity in the field. As plans for the Second Reformation gathered pace, and in the run-up to the Lausanne process, there was seen to be a need—within the wider evangelical movement—for a core of organizing agencies, a nerve centre that was essentially technocratic and administrative. Billy Graham (the leader of Pierce's original mission, Youth for Christ, and the key intermediary between Church and State) chose World Vision as one of these, and during the 1960s it was groomed accordingly. And the two most important figures in the transformation were a Baptist pastor (and executive director of the National Association of

Evangelicals) called W. Stanley Mooneyham, and a man called Ted Engstrom.

Mooneyham was one of the key men in the Billy Graham Evangelical Association—a close friend of Graham, and for some years the Association's Vice President for International Relations, he coordinated the World Congress on Evangelism in Berlin in 1966. He took over as President of World Vision in 1969, holding the post for some 13 years. It was a particularly busy time for the agency, and Mooneyham presided over a series of complex—and controversial—entanglements, in Central America, Lebanon, Indochina, and Indonesia. In each case, World Vision's brief seemed to be rather larger than mere Christian charity.

Ted Engstrom was a more low key figure. He was an affable, avuncular looking figure, and a friend of Pastor Bob Pierce. For eleven years (between 1940 and 1951) he had worked in Zondervan Publishing as director and general manager. In 1950, he joined Youth for Christ, becoming its president for a time in the 1960s. In 1966, he became vice-president of World Vision, and one year later—with Ed Dayton of Fuller College—he founded what would become one of the leading administrative agencies for the entire Lausanne process: the Missions Advanced Research and Communications Center, or MARC. Three years later, in 1970, Bob Pierce moved out of World Vision and founded a mission more in keeping with his style. He named it Samaritan's Purse.(93)

Engstrom resisted offers of World Vision's presidency, and stayed on as Vice President through the Mooneyham years. He was certainly well qualified for the task of leading a strategically important agency like World Vision. He had organized a number of Billy Graham's crusades—including his first city-wide crusade during the fifties—and he had a sound corporate background in the crucial field of Christian publishing. He was, in addition, an acknowledged expert in Christian leadership and management techniques. During his career

(which spanned over 50 years) he wrote more than 40 best-selling books on such subjects, the best known being "Motivation to Last a Lifetime" and "The Making of a Christian Leader"(1976). And over the years, Ted Engstrom has featured prominently in a large number of conservative Christian organizations in the United States, such as Focus on the Family and Coalition on Revival.

With the creation of MARC, World Vision effectively became a business with three main departments—a large and glossy shopwindow, an even larger administrative backroom, and a corps of roving field operatives. MARC's work, during the 1970s and 1980s, revolved around the various Lausanne congresses and consultations—which it both sponsored and supplied with the necessary intelligence. For a while, MARC was the main data banking and electronic support agency for the entire movement, and was a formative influence on the global intelligence effort going into cataloguing the world's "unreached peoples". In this, both MARC and the World Vision field operatives usually worked in partnership with the U.S. intelligence services—they did, after all, share the same objectives.

From its creation in 1967 to its renaming as "World Vision Resources" in 2003, MARC kept a low profile. The World Vision that most were aware of was the World Vision of child sponsorship, famine relief, and aid to village schools. It was avowedly a Christian relief agency, but it was the Christianity of the Good Samaritan. Thus, its image for the most part was exemplary—indeed, it was part of the image that any Christian influence the agency might exert was by practical example only, with the onus on the recipient to accept. One of Lausanne's essential edicts to the movement had been a bar on proselytization, and World Vision, like most agencies, claimed to adher to this: "Groups like World Vision never intended to proselytize," said Tim Dearborn, a director of World Vision's Institute for Global Engagement. "Our hope is that our work will open people up to a deeper understanding of who God is." The great strength of World Vision, in the wider scheme of things, was that it had been groomed

and resourced—over a considerable period—to be an NGO front for the United States Government, and great care had been taken to construct a public image of humanitarian neutrality.

Thus, World Vision became more and more closely associated with the aid and development functions of the United Nations, gaining consultative status on the boards of agencies such as the UNCHR, UNICEF, WHO, UNAIDS and UNESCO. It became heavily involved in the UN World Food Programme, becoming by 2003 the largest food aid handler in the world—shipping some 740,000 metric tones. It is involved as a senior representative in perhaps most of the international bodies coordinating the work of non-governmental organizations—for example, the Geneva-based International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), the Confederation of Non Governmental Organizations, and the Federation of Semi Official and Private International Institutions established in Geneva, and the coordinating committee of NGO Groups on the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

World Vision also advises and cooperates with the World Trade Organization, and with the World Bank (often partnering the latter in aid projects), but at the same time it presents an image of cautionary concern for the poor, and for poor children in particular. This image is articulated through membership of such semi-official monitoring groups as the Bretton Woods Project (founded in 1995, and involving a group of British NGOs, such as ActionAid UK and World Vision International, with the brief of reviewing World Bank and IMF policies on behalf of the world's poor)—and also through depositions by senior World Vision officials to WTO symposia, the US Congress, and other policy-making gatherings.

But World Vision is far more than just an honest Christian broker for the world's poor and suffering. Perhaps more than any other single evangelical agency, the agency epitomizes the "three-legged stool" approach to development—and its mediating role is essentially

that between the four members of the ruling US coalition on the one hand, and targeted Third World administrations on the other. World Vision is now the main omnibus agency representing the West's humanitarianism—it serves, and represents, the humanitarianism of the State, the Corporation, and the Church .... And, increasingly, the humanitarianism of the Western Military as well.

It could be said that World Vision is a kind of clearing house for the American corporate conscience—the agency lists as "partners" many hundreds of corporations and corporate foundations which either help fund, or provide "gifts in kind" for, its aid and development programmes.(94) However, charitable donations often have less to do with corporate conscience than they have with more strictly commercial considerations, such as tax concerns and good public relations—and in any event, an agency such as World Vision fulfils the role expected of it by the coalition, by helping to manage corporate philanthropy in the most politically desirable way possible.

To this end, World Vision cooperates closely with most official and semi-official bodies concerned with global promotion of "the American Way". Through a complex network of interlocking directorships and board membership, the agency is a key player in such bodies as The Peacemaker Foundation for Economic Development, the Global Partnership for Youth Development, the Basic Education Coalition, the US Africa Development Foundation, and the International Youth Foundation. All are US foundations, government-supported or government-created, dedicated to promoting US ideas of business practice, corporate leadership, youth training, and so on—and in the process encouraging the spread of US-style capitalism and freer environments for US business overseas. By the same token, the World Vision Board of Directors has had as members senior executives (serving and retired) of such corporations as Alcoa, Chevron, and Franklin Mint—in addition to the routine presence of a member representing the U.S. Agency for International Development.

The link between World Vision and USAID is formal and thoroughly reciprocal. It has long been acknowledged that USAID has a standing contribution to World Vision funding, although its relative significance is uncertain (estimates range from 5% to 20%). The actual funding involvement of USAID, however, is far less important than the institutional ties that exist between the two in terms of policy-making, staffing, and strategic and programme level coordination of activity. These were particularly strong during the Vietnam War, have long been part and parcel of the U.S. presence in Africa, and were integral to the planning of the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Throughout, World Vision's link with USAID has emphasized the promotion of U.S. corporate interests in the "developing world". In fact, most World Vision relief and development programmes act to some degree as corporate "shop windows", with each partner using the other's name for publicity: thus, Hasbro Inc. provided World Vision Zambia with 20,000 black dolls; Nike provided 50,000 pairs of shoes to World Vision India, and worked with the agency in China on night classes for its workers; Schwinn Bicycle donated cycles to a project in Sri Lanka; and Barrick Gold (a Canadian company) gave World Vision $1.3 million (over five years) to provide aid to the population surrounding its Laguna Norte mine in northern Peru. (Just two months before its donation was announced—in January, 2007—Barrick Gold was accused by Chile's Transnational Mining Tribunal of a range of abuses of its workforce and the forest environment in Chile, Argentina, and Peru. For many years, Barrick has also been accused of exploiting both workers and environment in New Guinea, around its Placer Dome mine, and Indonesia.)

World Vision's formal links with the United States' Government go well beyond those with USAID. The agency is an NGO front for the State Department more generally, for the Department of Labor, Department of Customs, Department of Agriculture, and the Defense Department. In this capacity, it performs a wide range of

"humanitarian" tasks in support of specific U.S. policy objectives: these may relate to monitoring the performance of particular national governments in the field of human rights, applying pressure to change, establishing a strategic presence, gaining support from segments of the population, or acting as auxiliary to military force. An agency like World Vision is well placed to play such a role, given its Christian and its humanitarian credentials—in the case of World Vision, however, there is no doubt that suitability for the job reflects a sustained programme of official grooming. In many a difficult situation, the United States' Government needed a covert presence. And a Good Samaritan is rarely turned away.

Thus, during the Vietnam War, World Vision functioned as an arm of the Central Intelligence Agency, gathering field data on whatever local populations it came into contact with. A particular emphasis was on the refugee camps that sprung up throughout Indochina and Thailand both during and after the war—refugee camps, after all, had been a specialty of World Vision's since the Korean War. World Vision was especially active in camps housing the border tribal people (such as the Hmong) who had thrown in their lot with the CIA as mercenaries. With help from the State Department, World Vision's interest in the Hmong continued as they were transported en masse out of Southeast Asia and brought to the Americas. The majority—some 200,000—were resettled in the United States, and some were shipped to other parts of the continent, such as Guyana—where World Vision collaborated with other evangelical missions (such as Samaritan's Purse and World Medical Relief) to resettle Hmong refugees on the site of the Jonestown massacre. Intervention by Hmong leader General Vang Pao eventually caused the scheme to be abandoned, however—but not before over 1,000 of the originally intended 100,000 refugees had been placed in Jonestown.(95)

In Southeast Asia, meanwhile, World Vision's interest remained. With the help of Missionary Aviation Fellowship, it organized the supply of food and other supplies to the border areas around Laos, and

it played a key role in the "yellow rain" hoax, which had been devised to discredit the Soviet Union with the claim that it was engaging in chemical warfare in the region.(96)

The expertise that World Vision has acquired in dealing with refugees has been put to use in numerous other situations—again in partnership with the US government. It is a common concern that reflects a much wider conjunction of interest between the two. For both US government and evangelicals are particularly exercised by the importance of displaced people, marginalized people, border people, and people occupying difficult and remote terrain—such people often belong to "the unreached", they often inhabit or have been displaced from strategic areas (during war, in particular), and they usually are able to provide essential intelligence. And groups like World Vision, which have their own reasons for being amongst such people, are also extremely useful as a soft "penetration force" for military and covert intelligence departments. Thus, World Vision was especially well represented in Latin America during the Reagan years, when they ran refugee camps in Guatemala and along the Honduran border where Nicaraguan Contra mercenaries were recruited and trained, as well as in various sites in southeastern United States housing Cuban and Haitian refugees—sites which became notorious for the recruitment and training of anti-Castro fighters. Thus, also, although its Middle East base is in Cyprus, the agency has long had a presence in that region, especially in Lebanon, but also in the Occupied Territories. For years, World Vision helped to run a number of refugee camps in Lebanon, including Sabra and Shatila—where, in 1982, hundreds of Palestinian civilians were massacred by Israeli-directed Phalangist forces. Now, with the U.S. invasion of Iraq, the agency has a responsibility not only in Lebanon and Palestine, but in Jordan and Syria—and in Iraq itself.

In 2003, the State Department appointed World Vision to be the agency in charge of relief management (with a budget of $10 million per year) for the Governorate of Nineveh, which included the city

of Mosul and the Amman-Mosul Highway.(97) The appointment is one of considerable piquancy for World Vision, and in a biblical sense at least, represents for the agency a kind of coming of age. For Nineveh is the homeland of the ancient Syrian Christians, the home of Prester John, and of the biblical City of Nineveh itself—the city whose sins God forgave. It is a problematic region: it is the home of the Yezidi minority, and many of the villages around Mosul (the ancient Nineveh) have populations which are mainly Christian. But it is also a region of considerable strategic significance: claimed by neighbouring Kurdistan, it is being proposed as the new autonomous homeland for all of Iraq's Christians, some 300,000 of whom live in Baghdad, Kirkuk, and Basra. Should this have come to pass, World Vision would have been perfectly placed to foster the infant entity.(98)

For the evangelical movement, no less than for the United States Government or any big corporation, public relations are all important. Evangelical mission, as we have seen, has to be effectively marketed. In this respect, being in Iraq could have been extremely useful to World Vision: "This is the show," said Dean Owen, the agency's public relations director, in 2003. "... The marketing people would love to have photos from inside Iraq." And the publicity value of a toe in Iraq would have been priceless, were World Vision on hand to help in the delivery of a new Christian state.

The history of World Vision, to a large extent, is the history of the evangelicals' ascendance in United States politics. It is the history of the evolving Lausanne Movement, aided by Billy Graham, Fuller College, the U.S. Center for World Mission, and MARC—and the maturing of evangelical Christianity into a powerful movement with a serious claim to being the inspiration behind the U.S. superpower's rise to global dominance.

But it is also the history of that marriage of convenience struck by the secular members of the ruling coalition with their evangelical partner. As the evangelical movement came of age politically, its

utility to the rest of the coalition grew in proportion—a tendency well illustrated by the way in which the relationship has become ever more tightly institutionalized. And no agency demonstrates this more clearly than World Vision.

World Vision's incorporation into the U.S. political process began with its founding. But for years the connection was a covert one, and strenuous disclaimers were made over any hint that the agency was a front. To a lesser extent, too, World Vision sought to conceal its evangelical intent. The stance began to change significantly in the late 1990s, and by 2000 the agency had diversified firmly into political activism. However, as with the creation of MARC in the 1960s, the expansion was cloaked by a nominal separation of function which allowed World Vision to maintain its samaritan's image.

The prime mover of the change was an ex-Marine Corps captain called Robert Seiple—man who had flown 300 missions in Vietnam, and who went on to become President of Eastern Baptist University and then, between 1987 and 1998, President of World Vision. In 1998, Seiple was appointed by Secretary of State Albright to be America's first Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom—following the passing of the International Religious Freedom Act in the U.S. Congress. After two years in the job, Seiple founded the Institute for Global Engagement, on the Pennsylvania campus of Eastern University, becoming its first President.(99)

The I.G.E.'s object was to monitor human rights across the globe, with particular reference to religious freedom, to ensure that "emerging Christian leaders are better trained in global affairs, better methodologies are provided for solutions that endure, and most importantly, the best of the Christian faith emerges as a credible and relevant force in the world today."

Apart from Seiple himself, the Institute staff included the following:

Tim Dearborn (Director)—Executive Director of Fuller Seminary's Pacific Association for Theological Studies

Chris Seiple (Robert Seiple's son)—Ex-Marine Corps infantry captain; Director of Strategic Initiatives Group, Pentagon (where he advocated a new national infrastructure for the post-Cold War world); ex-Chemical, Biological,Radiological, and Nuclear Terrorism Task Force at Center for Strategic & International Studies, and Term member of Council on Foreign Relations; publications include "Window into an Age Of Windows: The US Military & the NGOs" (Marine Corps Gazette 1999); worked in Central Asia, especially Uzbekistan.(100)

Julie Petersen—ex-Director of Communications for Council for Christian Colleges and Universities; ex-director of Sales and Marketing for Orion International, working mainly in Africa; Project Director for Convention Management Group, and Project Manager for World Bank

Karl Frederick Inderfurth—ex-Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, 1997-2001; also US Special Representative for Political Affairs to UN, with rank of Ambassador (portfolio incl.. UN peacekeeping, disarmament, and security affairs); Deputy US representative on UN Security Council; ex-Senate Select Committee on Intelligence; 1977-79 staff of National Security Council as Special Assistant to Brzezinski.

Robert Seiple himself is a man of considerable experience in managing the connections between the religious and the secular in US politics. Apart from his roles in World Vision, and its I.G.E. offshoot, Seiple is, or has been, advisor to such groups as the Peacemaker Foundation for Economic Development, was a member of World Evangelical Fellowship's Religious Liberty Commission, and has access to the White House through "The Fellowship" and its Prayer Breakfasts.

In early 2003, as World Vision was positioning itself to go into Iraq with the US military, Seiple shared his views on the situation with the journal Christianity Today. He supported the US invasion, he said, for three reasons:

(a) "... the Middle East is a cauldron of activists who hate the US and the West. There's a great deal of terrorism that is spawned there and kept there. Right in the middle of this cauldron is this country of Iraq, that also hates us and has the ability to create the kind of weapons that could really play havoc in the world after 9/11.

(b)... when I was in the State Department for two years .... I read all the cables coming from in and around Iraq. Saddam Hussein did the most brutal things to the Shiites in the south and we sanctioned Iraq because of that. But the guy is absolutely heartless and probably the most brutal dictator that we have seen in the last 100 years.

(c)... many people say we shouldn't go to war but, my goodness, we were already at war."

The Institute for Global Engagement now works quite explicitly as a "semi-official" organ of the United States Government, monitoring the progress of Christianity in "difficult places" which are of strategic interest to the US, such as Vietnam—and advising on the use of "human rights" leverage in matters like trade relations and the role of state control in the economy.

Vietnam is an exquisite example of how the new US-dominated World Order works. A little over thirty years ago, World Vision was active in a war-devastated country, managing refugee camps and covertly feeding intelligence to the invading army. Now, that country, with the third largest population in Southeast Asia, exports more to the United States than to any other country, including

China, and seeks to expand its economy by joining the World Trade Organization. But to do this, it needs the support of the United States, and to get that support it must liberalize its economy and give free reign to Christianity.(101)

Vietnam agreed to transform itself. And the transformation was engineered not with the active involvement of the US Government, but by a World Vision affiliate dealing officially with the Vietnamese Government. Memoranda of Understanding were signed between I.G.E. and the Vietnamese authorities, and the Institute made a number of visits to Vietnam to monitor the progress made in liberalizing the economy and in granting freedom to Protestant churches. As a result, in late 2006, the U.S. Government rescinded Vietnam's classification as a "Country of Particular Concern" and granted it Permanent Normal Trade Relations, which in turn opened the door to Vietnam's acceptance by the World Trade Organization.(102)

But the Institute for Global Engagement is not the only World Vision affiliate practicing such evangelical diplomacy on behalf of the U.S. Government. Three years before the I.G.E. was founded, a second "semi-official" agency had been created to monitor "human rights" in supplicant countries. The International Justice Mission, it was claimed, was founded in much the same way that World Vision itself was founded: an evangelical worker (in this case a lawyer) was inspired in a field of conflict to create an agency that would be a global watchdog for the rights of the oppressed. The ostensible founder, in this case, was Gary Haugen, a Justice Department lawyer seconded to the United Nations in Rwanda, and a director of the National Association of Evangelicals. In fact, the I.J.M. was jointly funded by World Vision, under Robert Seiple's presidency, with USAID participation.(103)

The I.J.M.'s remit was to "rescue victims of individual human rights abuse"—after conducting "professional investigations" into cases referred to it by relief and development agencies. The remit was

framed by four principles: victim relief, perpetrator accountability, structural prevention, and victim aftercare. It spanned a wide range of abuses: illegal detention, human trafficking, forced labour, unprosecuted rape, police brutality, and illegal land seizure—the agency gaining added power with the passing of the US Trafficking in Victims Protection Act 2000, which requires the State Department to rank nations according to how they meet minimum standards of combating bonded labour and sex trafficking, with sanctions for those who don't comply.(104)(105)

With headquarters in Washington D.C., the International Justice Mission has chapters in some 70 US university campuses, special consultancy status with UNESCO, and offices in Latin America (Guatemala and Bolivia), Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, and Rwanda) and Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Thailand, and Philippines). It has a strong presence in Cambodia and Thailand, where it works with World Vision and various departments of the US Government—World Vision, for example, had State Department funding for a project on "sex tourism", while I.J.M. had a $700,000 grant from the US Department of Labor to counter child trafficking in Thailand. In 2006, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation awarded I.J.M. $5 million to "create a replicable model for combating sex trafficking and slavery"—a donation linked to the Gates' interest in HIV/AIDS prevention, especially in Africa.(106) Haugen's I.J.M. is also a partner of Rick Warren's P.E.A.C.E. project.

Indeed, Gary Haugen expresses the role of the I.J.M. in markedly "dominionist" terms:

> "Ultimately, this struggle to protect victims of violence and slavery is the work of God's Kingdom. It is the Lord who commands us to 'seek justice, rescue the oppressed, defend the orphan, and plead for the widow', and it is Almighty God who promises to go with us as we declare to the Pharaohs of this world 'let my people go."
>
> (Christianity Today, Feb. 26th, 2007)(107)

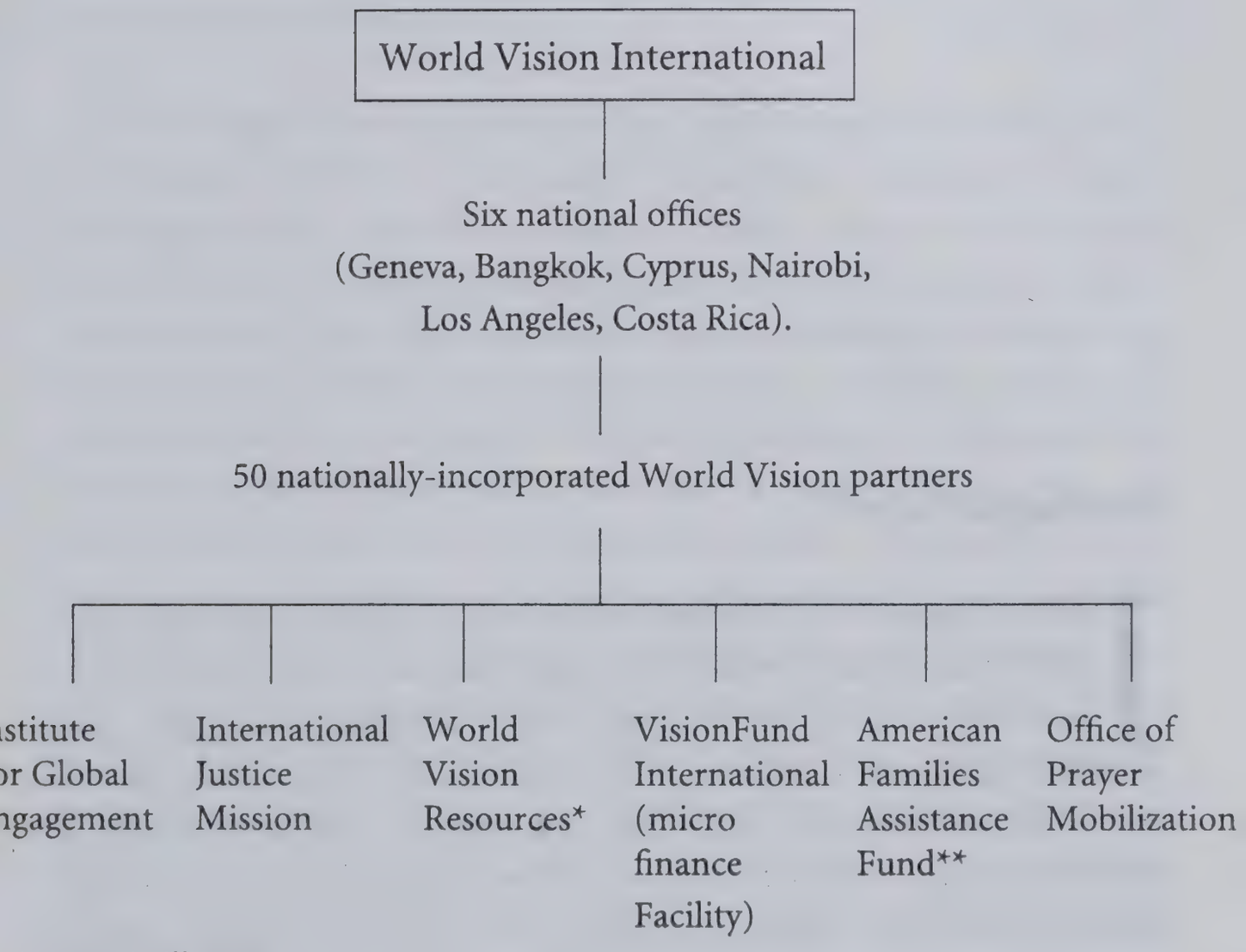
Like World Vision, the International Justice Mission presents a public image defined strongly in terms of the dramatic individual case and the blessed Good Samaritan. Like World Vision, too, the I.J.M. works very much as an auxiliary of the US Government, keeping under surveillance, and actively policing, the societies (and the administrations) of countries that the US has an interest in.

The history of World Vision is an instructive one. World Vision is not on the hard edge of the evangelical movement. It is neither a Summer Institute of Linguistics, nor an Operation Blessing. World Vision is the epitome of the establishment in US evangelical Christianity, and in US business and politics. It represents, effectively and profitably, the interests of all three. It thus has a naturally and manifestly close relationship with the US Government, especially as an adjunct of the State Department. But it is also deeply embedded in the more covert realms of the US administration—most significantly, perhaps, as a "sister organization" of the Fellowship Foundation, otherwise known as "The Family".*

And so it is hardly surprising that there appears to be a certain disjunction between the repeated public pronouncements of the Lausanne affiliated, and the activities of their most august representatives. Perhaps, after all, the most enduring lesson to be learned from the Lausanne Process, these past 40 years, is that evangelical Christianity and Western Commercialization share— amongst many other things—not just the same hymn book, but the same advertising agency as well.

* See The Fellowship Foundation's IRS Form 990, 2001.

The Structure of World Vision



* MARC till 2003

** estab. 2001 to aid victims of 9/11 Twin Towers collapse

Chapter Five

A TALE OF TWO HAGGAIS

The Haggai Vision

JOHN Haggai is a Christian pastor and a business motivator. He reinforces his key points with folksy anecdotes in a way that can make the strictest business principle go straight to the heart. One of his favourite stories relates how his father, also a pastor, announced one Christmas that the family had just enough food in the house to feed John's baby brother Tom—and how, miraculously, a little later, a good Samaritan appeared through the snow at the front door to present father Haggai with enough food to feed the entire family ... in thanks, said the stranger, for the sermon he had preached the previous Sunday. It was 1931, and young John was just seven years old.(108)

The story underlines much in John Haggai's approach to his work. For John Haggai trains Christian leaders to be better Christians and better leaders. He teaches them the benefits of a strong Christian faith, the value of a private enterprise that allows the individual to make good in adversity, the virtues of hard work, frugality, and charity. He teaches, too, the power of the apposite image, the right packaging, the heartfelt little homily. He is one of a common breed. There are many evangelists, like Haggai, who teach the American Way

through a combination of populist preaching and slick management training, who extol a capitalism sanctified by biblical aphorism and homely stories of personal triumph—and who, in so doing, connect the heights of corporate America with the remotest ends of Empire in a purposeful and fruitful way.

John Haggai is a kind of latter-day Dale Carnegie. His business—the Haggai Institute of Advanced Leadership Training—is based in Singapore, has a branch campus in Hawaii, offices in the United States, Canada, Australia, and India, and active alumni groups in some 160 countries. His classes comprise lawyers, bishops, archbishops, businessmen, doctors, professors, school teachers, engineers, politicians, soldiers—Haggai's advanced training, in fact, might be offered to anyone occupying a position of influence in society, so long as they are deemed to be evangelist material. That is, so long as they can use their position of influence, whatever it may be, to spread the gospel according to Haggai in a persuasive way amongst their home population—and multiply a hundredfold, within twenty-four months, the investment made in their training, by producing another hundred Christian leaders in their own society. So far, the Haggai Institute has trained some 60,000 Christian leaders from Africa, Latin America, and Asia, which means (in theory, at least) that John Haggai's mission has been responsible for the training of some six million non-Western evangelists over the past 35 years.

The multiplication may well be optimistic. But even if it has been only fractionally achieved, there can be no doubting the powerful influence that John Haggai has had on the global evangelical movement.

Haggai graduated from the Moody Bible Institute in 1945, and—as a Baptist preacher—he conducted crusades around the United States for a few years before focusing his attention on Asia (and especially China and Southeast Asia) during the 1950s and 1960s. He became an associate of Bob Pierce, the Youth for Christ founder

of World Vision, establishing his own mission agency, Evangelism International, in 1962. In the late sixties, says Haggai, during a crusade in Indonesia, the idea of an institute for advanced leadership first developed. And in 1971, the Haggai Institute was incorporated as a Singapore company.

It sprang from a simple observation - that one of the main obstacles to Western evangelization was the white faces of the missionaries:

> "In a day when an estimated three quarters of the Third World's population live in countries that either discourage or flatly prohibit foreign missionary efforts, what other way is there to obey Jesus Christ's directive to evangelize all the world? .... The answer is becoming more and more clear. In those closed countries, evangelization through trained national Christian leaders is the logical way .... It may be the only way."
>
> (John Haggai, in Yohannan)

The 1960s, as we have seen, was a decade of some trauma for the United States. As the European empires disintegrated, and the U.S. tried to assert its own hegemony over the non-Western world, there was a marked rise in anti-Western feeling. It was clear that if U.S. penetration was to succeed, hostile nationalist politicians had to be either eliminated or co-opted. Especially in Asia. Outside of China, the United States was being challenged in the Philippines, Indonesia, Indochina, Burma, and the Indian subcontinent. The Haggai Institute represented a key part of the strategy devised to meet this challenge: it would help create a strong network of native proxies who would work on the Americans' behalf, as far as possible co-opting national leadership through evangelization and Americanization. The idea was by no means new. In China, in 1943, the evangelist N.A. Jepson had launched the China Native Evangelistic Crusade on the same basis, and by the late 1960s many missionary groups were beginning to reshape their approach in terms of what, militarily, had come to be known as "Vietnamization".(109)

But if the idea was not new, Haggai's approach to it was both novel and highly effective. For Haggai was as much a businessman as he was a Christian evangelist, and he defined his Institute's mission in the same way a management expert would define a corporate strategy: its vision was crisply defined, it had secure finances, a strict recruitment policy, clear growth targets, and effective linkages both backward and forward. And it kept strict control over its own publicity.

The Haggai vision, of course, was ostensibly a Biblical one—that of the duty of furthering Christ's Great Commission on earth, by making 'disciples of all nations'. "I am first and foremost an evangelist," said John Haggai. "Evangelism," says Haggai, "is the key to the improvement of society", and "Haggai International exists solely for evangelism, and does not provide training for ... any other purposes."

But there was rather more to it than that. Above all, Haggai sought to refine the strategy of Christian subversion in the non-Western world, creating a network of proxy elites to strengthen Western control—culturally, economically, and politically, as well as in terms of religion. In this, the Institute works closely with church and para-church agencies, which sponsor candidates on the strength of both their faith and the degree of influence (political, economic, or social) that they exert within their home society. Once back home, and duly trained in both evangelism and business motivation, graduates will then attempt to fulfil one of their key entry requirements—the training of one hundred more Christian leaders, and the strengthening (and widening) thereby of the Western evangelical network across the most strategic parts of the local society.

The Institute's training programme is normally about a month long. It involves intensive instruction in the techniques of both evangelism and the teaching of evangelism. Particular stress is placed on the cultural context, with input from the work of Christian anthropologists such as the late Paul Hiebert—who was an associate

of the Institute— and with the requirement that students formulate their own "contextualized" strategies for evangelizing within the community of their choice for discussion and refining before they graduate. This both encourages development of effective evangelism and provides a considerable bank of cultural data for use in the institute. In addition to learning to spread the gospel, students are also instructed in leadership skills, motivation skills, teaching techniques(including audio-visual), and fund-raising and Christian "stewardship".

In every respect, Haggai Institute can draw upon resources of considerable repute. Haggai himself is an evangelist and business motivator of long experience, and is closely associated with others in the field—such as Paul Meyer, founder of Success Motivation International, who has turned "self improvement" into a $2 billion corporation, and about whom Haggai has written a book. Anthropologists such as Paul Gordon Hiebert, and a range of other reputable social scientists, have given the Institute considerable academic credibility.(110) Hiebert's own specialties include the study of folk religions, and the anthropology of the South Indian peasantry—and his work on cultural anthropology and missiology more generally extends to well over one hundred books and articles. Haggai also recruited the services of another long-time friend, the Christian film-maker Ken Anderson, to help develop the audio-visual aspect of evangelism, or Avangelism. Now, following Anderson's death, the agency he worked with—Intercommedia Inc.—has evolved into an affiliate of Haggai Institute, providing it (and others) with Christian audio-visual resources in a range of languages, including Bahasa Indonesia, Bangla, Burmese, Cantonese, Cebuano, Mandarin, Mongolian, Nepali, Tibetan, Urdu, and Vietnamese. The content of such resources can be gathered from the following film strip catalogue synopses:

> " *Living Book*: True story of the power of the Gospel over hatred in a young man's heart. Produced in a Pakistan village for primary

use among Muslims. Does not mention Islam in any way.

My Mother: The deep love between mother and daughter. Produced for small outreach with Muslim women. Does not mention Islam. Middle East.

Unfinished Story: True story of how literature touched the life of a village Headmaster. Uses comic book produced by Haggai Institute alumnus. Produced in a Tibetan village."

Intercommedia Inc (which is based in Indiana) provides a wide range of ministry support services, including translations of Christian videos from the U.S., tapes, video films made to order, A/V equipment, linguistic aids, and so on. The agency's motto is succinct: "InterComm—It Means the Third World to Us".(111)

The Haggai Empire

It must be remembered that Haggai students are already people who have proved themselves as leaders. The Institute does not produce leaders; it refines abilities that already exist, and sharpens the skills (and the ideological focus) of people whose influence and commitment are already well established. In addition, it secures the place of each graduate in the wider network of the global evangelical movement, thereby strengthening the scope and influence of both.

Thus, in Africa, the evangelical network embraces political and economic leaders in every country and at all levels of influence. There are Haggai graduates at the top of many government ministries (Sierra Leone's Minister of Social Welfare, for example, and Benin's Minister of Justice). Zambia's candidate for the chair of the African Union is a Haggai graduate, and so are civil servants in Ghana, personnel managers in Zimbabwe, teachers in South Africa. A number of Haggai graduates have gone on to found their own mission agencies,

such as the Nigerian Oluwasayo Ajiboye, who founded the U.S. based Mission Africa International. And Haggai graduates populate the highest echelons of the African church—Bishop Solo of Madagascar, for example, Uganda's Archbishop Orombi, and Nigeria's Archbishop Akinola.(112)

The Haggai Institute's influence in India is no less strong. Indeed, one U.S. evangelist has called the Institute "the most pervasive evangelical force in all of India." It has trained some 11,000 Indian leaders, and maintains a tight network of alumni associations throughout the country—associations which themselves have evangelized aggressively in all states. Thus, one of the key evangelists of Indian origin—K.P. Yohannan—is an early Haggai graduate. Yohannan, who is based in Texas, founded Gospel for Asia, which liaised closely with U.S. and Indian missions in India on the Joshua Project during the 1990s. The agency maintains some 16,500 native missionaries, mostly of Indian origin, who operate locally, as well as cross-culturally within India, and overseas—especially in largely Muslim countries such as Afghanistan, Morocco, and the Maldives. A particular target of such missions is the Adivasi (or tribal) population of India, who often occupy border regions or regions of other strategic importance. The Haggai Institute itself is heavily involved, for example, in Nagaland, where over 90% of the population are Christian. It works closely with the Nagaland Baptist Church Council, and regularly organizes events in the state—including a series of seminars for the Nagaland cabinet.(113)

The Western interest in Nagaland is especially telling. The state borders the Kachin region of Burma (the population of which is mainly Buddhist, with a 40% minority of Christians), and is close to little-Christianized populations in Bangladesh, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, and western China. It has a history of separatist activism—in the war with India, and the inter-Naga conflict over independence, some 200,000 Nagas died. Naga Christianity is strongly linked to American Baptist churches—over 75% of Naga Christians are Baptists,

making Nagaland the most strongly Baptist state in the world (even Tennessee is only 52% Baptist). In 1972, Billy Graham (together with Akbar Haqq) held a "Third Revival Crusade" in Kohima, attracting some 500,000 people, or half the Naga population at the time. Since then, in the words of S.A.Walling (an evangelist closely associated with Nagaland), "the seed sown by the American missionaries has grown to become a healthy tree, bearing fruit from one generation to the next. God has a definite plan for Nagas in missionary work." (in Manpreet Singh, The Soul Hunters of Central Asia, Christianity Today, February 2006).

For a long time, Christian missionaries were banned from Nagaland by the Indian Government—largely because of the Christian inspiration behind Naga separatism ("Nagalim for Christ" was the Christian separatist slogan). In recent years, however, restraints have been slightly eased, and Nagaland has become a focus for evangelical efforts to produce a corps of suitable native missionaries for the South Asian region. The plan was to generate 10,000 Naga evangelists, and send them (initially) to the rest of India, and then to neighbouring countries.

The plan shows considerable success. In the words of Zhabu Terhuja, general secretary of the Nagaland Baptist Church Council: "The growth of churches in Arunachal Pradesh is because of Naga churches. Twenty years ago in Sikkim there were no Baptist churches. But today we have them there in good numbers. Churches are growing rapidly in Uttar Pradesh, and we have mission fields in Orissa, West Bengal, Manipur, and Assam." In addition, Naga Baptist evangelists are commonly sent to other tribal regions in India, such as Jarkhand. Naga evangelists are now in Nepal, Cambodia, Burundi, Japan, Thailand, South Africa, and Hong Kong, and the Andaman Islands. And in the Nations Bible College in Kohima (one of eight theological colleges in Nagaland) there are students from Myanmar, Nepal, Arunachal Pradesh, and Assam.

In Southeast Asia, the situation for Haggai Institute is no less challenging—and no less promising.(114) In Singapore itself (where the global headquarters are located) the Institute benefits from a concentration of likeminded agencies, many of which are closely connected to it by personnel and function. These include the Ravi Zacharias International Ministries (Asia-Pacific), which is also incorporated in the Republic, SIM International, OMF, Global Mapping International, YWAM. But perhaps more significantly, Haggai has the benefit of one of the most evangelically-minded Christian populations in the world—and a population which maintains a strong network of ethnic ties throughout the wider (and strongly Muslim) region.

In 1970, some six per cent of Singapore's population were Christian; by 2006, the proportion had climbed to some 16%. The growth of Christianity is especially marked amongst university students (41% Christian), and particularly medical students, some 73% of whom are Christian. A third of all members of parliament, too, are Christian. However, such general figures conceal the fact that Christianity in Singapore is strongly—and increasingly—evangelical: in 1984, there were 90 Singaporean missionaries working overseas, and by 2003 there were 460; and at the same time, the proportion of such missionaries working amongst "unreached people groups" (meaning largely tribal and Muslim populations) rose from just 10% in 1995 to 35% ten years later—an evangelical emphasis greater than that of the U.S. missionary force, and considerably higher than that of South Korea.

Such characteristics, together with the strong ethnic ties which exist between Singapore's majority Chinese population and the economic elites of all neighbouring countries (as well as the population of China) combine to make Singapore a particularly useful springboard for Western missionaries. Equally important, however, is the fact that Singapore is also a highly Westernized, and highly authoritarian, city

state which has staked its survival on being hospitable to Westerners in need of a gateway to the wider Asian hinterland.(115)

These are traits that agencies such as Haggai Institute take maximum advantage of. Haggai was incorporated in Singapore ostensibly because it was "a neutral hub of the developing world ... unambiguously Eastern, close to the world's great mission fields, yet endowed with the advantages of political and economic stability." The Chinese connection, certainly, is more important than the Institute would be happy to admit. On the one hand, Haggai-trained Chinese missionaries are useful throughout Southeast Asia—not just for evangelizing amongst the strongly Chinese urban populations, but for penetrating (with suitable training) various tribal and Muslim groups as well. On the other hand, the Institute has long had an interest in China itself—an interest that has a great deal to do with the economic challenge (and the economic opportunity) that the world's largest population provides. And that Haggai Institute is a major player within China's domestic affairs is apparent in the recent case of the Eastern Lightning "kidnappings".(116)

During 2002, 34 house church leaders belonging to the China Gospel Fellowship(117) were allegedly kidnapped by a group called Eastern Lightning—a messianic cult which believes that the Second Coming is imminent, and that Jesus Christ will appear as a Chinese and as a woman. At stake were some 30 million Christians who, Eastern Lightning claimed, had been led astray by the Western-style theology of China Gospel Fellowship. The lure which entrapped the 34 church leaders was a promise to send them to Singapore for training at the "highly respected" Haggai Institute for Advanced Leadership Training—once Chinese policy towards the Church was liberalized, with accession to the World Trade Organization. The Institute itself denied any involvement, saying that its dealings within China were solely with the officially recognized "Three Self Church" group. However, the incident threw into sharp relief the fragility of relations

between Church and State within China, between rival Christian groups amongst the country's population, and between the Chinese authorities and foreign interests such as Western evangelists.

John Haggai's own interest in China goes back to the late 1940s. Sixty years later, the institute he founded is no less concerned with the state of Christianity in what is potentially America's greatest competitor. There is no question that such groups as Eastern Lightning represent a significant force of indigenous (and nationalistic) Christianity, of a kind which is largely hostile to foreign evangelizing; and there is also no question that such groups appeal to the dispossessed, especially in rural China., and are in conflict with the government partly for this reason. Thus, for foreigners, China's mission field is a perilous one—but potentially a vastly rewarding one. There are already estimated to be between 80 million and 100 million Christians in China—indeed, there are more Christians in China, proclaim the Western evangelists, than there are Communists, if one counts only Party members. And according to Haggai International, "35,000 Chinese are confessing Christ daily."

For such reasons , in Singapore, Haggai courses are taught both in English and in Mandarin. John Haggai himself has maintained ties with senior government officials in China, as well as the connection with the Three Self Church, and Haggai Institute alumni operate within the country. But, given the fragility of the situation, it takes an incident such as the Eastern Lightning 'kidnapping' to lift a veil on events.

More certain, inevitably, is the considerable strength of Haggai's position in Taiwan, where close contact continues with government members from the President down. The Institute is also strong in the Philippines, where senior government officials, as well as many leading businessmen, are Haggai graduates, as are the Supreme Court Chief Justice, Reynato Puno, and the President of the Central Philippines University, Juanito Acanto. Overall, some 6,000 Filipino

leaders, from all sectors of society, have been trained at the Haggai Institute.

Of all the Southeast Asian countries outside Singapore, Indonesia is perhaps the easiest for agencies such as Haggai Institute to penetrate—and potentially, as a consequence, one of the most explosive. Because of its economic value, its large Muslim population, and its relatively liberal attitude to foreign missionaries, the country has been identified as strategic by Western evangelists, and Haggai Institute in particular has had a close interest in developments since the fall of Sukarno. It was in a hotel in Bali, during the 1968 Indonesian crusade (a time of particular turmoil for Indonesia itself) that John Haggai says he devised the blueprint for the Institute. In the succeeding 40 years, Haggai Institute has established a strong presence throughout the Republic, especially within the business community and the professional classes. One of Indonesia's biggest operators in the insurance business, Karel Sinaga, was an early graduate, as was the evangelist S.J.Sutjiono who went on to train 16,000 Indonesian Christians in evangelizing, and who founded a 24,000-strong "mega-church". Some Haggai-trained evangelists now minister overseas, such as Martin Kristiaman, who now teaches in Australia, and many (such as Benny Siswanto) have gone on to direct Haggai's Indonesian operations—Siswanto is now the Institute's executive director there.

Haggai's Money

The recruitment of men like Karel Sinaga and Christovita Wiloto (a banker and public relations magnate) indicate one of the great strengths of Haggai Institute—its success with the wealthy in whatever country it operates. This is partly a reflection of the appeal which the Haggai philosophy has to capitalists both wealthy and aspiring, but it is also a matter of deliberate policy.

For over 50 years, John Haggai has been particularly concerned with the movement of money. Wealth, generally, he sees as a gift

of God—and the Christian faith, properly practiced, is a means of obtaining it. But wealth also needs proper stewardship, and Haggai has spent much of his life ensuring that as much as possible of the money which faith bestows in fact goes back to the church—in the form of funds for evangelization. He has written a number of books on the "Christian stewardship of money" (for example, in 2000, a book published by the Maclellan Foundation, called "The Sin We're Afraid to Mention"), and makes a point of cultivating wealthy donors. For this reason (although ostensibly a modest operation, with stated revenues of some $21 million a year), Haggai Institute is financially secure. At the same time, however, Haggai's role as an evangelical "broker" between funders and funded helps ensure that, more generally, the project of "indigenizing" Western mission is amply financed.

Haggai's philosophy regarding money is eminently practical:

> "... I thank God for every gift we receive, small or great. And I know that many organizations rely on small donors. After all, it can be advantageous to have a million people give you $5.00 a year—you spread your risk, and you don't get hit if one drops out. On the other hand, you are considerably increasing your overhead, and distancing yourself from your donor base.
>
> Haggai Institute, then, avoids a big operation of tearing open envelopes, and concentrates its energies instead on a smaller number of loyal supporters—individuals, Churches, and foundations. Our approach is to find people who have not only the vision to support Haggai Institute's unique ministry, but the financial resources to make an impact on world mission."
>
> (Haggai: *The Leading Edge*)

Connecting the moneyed classes with world mission is an industry in itself. In the United States, philanthropy, as we have seen, is very big business. Christian philanthropy alone (that is, the funding of Christian enterprises) is very big business, and there are dozens

of companies whose business is solely the movement of Christian money—advising the donors, both wealthy and modest, channeling the funds, teaching courses in Biblical finance, and producing the kind of literature that will inspire charity. All recommend Haggai Institute as a good investment—as a business which, in the words of one Haggai donor, "delivers more bang for the buck than any other ministry." Usually, the names speak for themselves: Crown Financial Ministries is the world's largest financial ministry, and recommends Haggai International; the President of Generous Giving, another large financial ministry, sits on the Haggai Board; the founder of Spectrum Financial, Ralph Doudera, is a Haggai trustee; Kingdom Way Advisors, Excellence in Giving, Calvin Edwards, and a large number of others all recommend Haggai Institute.

Not surprisingly, Haggai Institute is one of the most popular of the evangelical bodies funded by sympathetic donors. For many of the larger, more traditional, philanthropies, evangelical mission is fairly low on the list of priorities. But there are a large number of very wealthy donors who favour evangelical causes—mainly Protestant, but also Catholic (the largest single donor to Christian causes is in fact the Catholic Tom Monaghan, founder of Domino's Pizza, who has donated some $500 million to Catholic causes in the last decade).(118)

According to the Media Transparency survey of conservative philanthropy, which covers 39 major conservative foundations (and some $500 million of donations to institutions between 1985 and 2006 - $200 million of which came from Thomas Monaghan), Haggai International was one of the top 10 most favoured Protestant missions—attracting considerably more funding than even Campus Crusades for Christ (or, for that matter, the Jewish United Fund).

The Top Ten Protestant Missions, 1985-2006
(in millions of $)

Gospel Communications	13.0
Africare	2.5
Evangelism Explosion Inc.	2.3
Haggai Institute	2.2
Luis Palau Evangelical Association	2.0
Outreach International	1.6
Partners for Christian Development	1.5
Christian Reformed World Relief Committee	1.4
Gospel Films	1.3
Campus Crusade for Christ	0.8

Another study of conservative philanthropy, by the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, using a different sample of donor foundations, shows a similar pattern: Haggai Institute is one of conservative America's favourite targets for charitable funding—after the World Vision offshoot Samaritan's Purse, and Samaritan's Purse's partner in the Christmas Child "shoe-box mission", Child Evangelism Fellowship:

1999-2002	**(in $mil.)**	**% of total**
Samaritan's Purse	6.57	17
Child Evangelism Fellowship	5.42	14
Haggai Institute	2.74	7
Evangelism Explosion International	1.77	5
Mission Aviation Fellowship	1.44	4
Servant Leadership Foundation	1.32	3
Wycliffe Bible Translators	1.12	
Word of Life International		0.93
World Relief Corps of the N.A.E.		0.90
Reach the Children Foundation		0.75

However, such studies give only aggregate details of the connection between funders and their favourite evangelical charities. We can give some personality to Haggai Institute's supporters by a quick survey of the people Haggai himself acknowledges his debt to, in his book The Leading Edge: Keith Chua (finance, property, and food franchises in Singapore); Tom Cundy (insurance); Cecil Day (Day Motels); Bob Glaze (property developer); Zenon Hansen (owner, Mack Trucks); Ronnie Irvine (footwear); Marge Lindsey (realtor—donated over $10 million); Henry F. McCamish (insurance and taxation specialist, member of C.N.P.); John Rollins (Rollins Inc.); Bob Rutland (auto-trucking); Karel Sinaga (insurance); and Yip Tung Shan (shipping, Singapore).

Haggai has also long been closely involved with Paul Meyer, founder of Success Motivation International, and owner of a business empire spanning computer software, real estate, and insurance, in addition to "self improvement". In 2005, the Paul and Jane Meyer Foundation endowed the William M. Hinson Chair in Christian Scripture at Baylor University, at a cost of $1.5 million, in honour of the Chief Executive of Haggai Institute. Another major long term funder of the Institute is the Maclellan Foundation, based on the fortune made by the owners of the Provident Life Insurance Co., which is heavily involved in global Bible distribution with the U.B.S., as well as in China and Indonesia. In 2000, the Maclellan Foundation founded the financial ministry Generous Giving, whose President, Daryl Heald, is on the Haggai Board. Unsurprisingly, Haggai Institute is one of the foundation's few nominated charities.(119)

But Haggai's funding also shows certain regional concentrations. In fact, evangelical agencies, in general, tend to attract more funding from Florida, the southern states, and Michigan; and proportionately little from the "old money" Northeast, and the more liberal western seaboard states. Florida alone accounts for 30% of all grants to the conservative Christian cause; Michigan accounts for 26%.

For Haggai Institute, West Michigan is a particularly generous source of funding. West Michigan, of course, is Haggai's home territory, and its generosity is accounted for by the favours of just two families. The DeVos family, and the Prince family. The following figures indicate the extent of Haggai's debt to this source of funds:

Richard and Helen DeVos	$740,000)	
Dick and Betsy DeVos	$500,000)	$2,240,000
Edgar and Elsa Prince	$2,510,000	
Freiheit Foundation(Erik Prince)	$200,000	
	$3,950,000	$4,950,000

The figures are for the period 2000-2005, and relate to a number of large donations—but not all donations—made by the families. Both sets of figures (the first from Media Mouse survey of West Michigan conservative philanthropy, the second from Media Transparency) are in all likelihood considerable under-estimates of the amount of money which flows to Haggai Institute from these two sources. Indeed, any figures relating to such funding are bound to be underestimates, given the secretive nature of both corporate and evangelical accounting.

Many evangelical agencies, and many related Christian institutions (such as theological seminaries, think tanks, churches, and "Christian living" pressure groups) benefit from the wealth of such families: the DeVos and Prince families also donated heavily to Calvin College in Michigan, Western Theological University, Focus on the Family, the Christian Reformed World Mission (latterly the Dutch Reformed Church), the Acton Institute, the Heritage Foundation Gospel Communications International, and a number o f evangelical institutions in Indonesia (such as the Gereja Kristen Jawa and the Jakarta Theological Seminary). And the DeVos and Prince families are not the only wealthy patrons of evangelicalism in Western Michigan.

The DeWitts and the Van Andels have a similar pattern of philanthropic spending. Indeed, such families are all closely connected with one another—in much the same way as the evangelical groups they sponsor are connected. The sources of their wealth range from banking and energy, through chicken slaughter, to automobile parts and mass marketing; but all share a common concern with Republican politics, free market economics, and Christian evangelicalism—and a background in the Dutch Reformed Church. And nowhere is this better exemplified than in the case of Haggai Institute's two key Michigan sponsors—the DeVos and the Prince families.

Richard DeVos, together with Jay Van Andel, founded the Amway Corporation—a multi-level marketing (or pyramid selling) organization specializing in cleaning products. DeVos, in particular, has long been an enthusiastic supporter of far Rightwing Republican politics (he is, for example, a governor on the secretive Council for National Policy, of which his son, Dick, is also a member) and in 1975 he funded the publication of a manifesto entitled One Nation Under God, which proposed that the United States become a "Christian Republic" governed by a church-based authoritarianism and supported by a strongly free enterprise economy.

Amway Corporation itself is regarded by many as an organization of rather questionable morality, as well as one of untested legality. It depends for its recruitment (and its profit) on the belief in "self improvement" as the source of wealth and success—a belief that is heavily promoted from the top of the distributors' pyramid to every succeeding level, through the sale of Amway "motivational tools" as well as through a cult-like structure of control and indoctrination. Ideologically, DeVos and Amway sit of the far right of Christian Dominionism, exhorting their company workers to achieve in the name of America, God, and Oneself. The wealth which the sales force generates, however, flows strongly to the top, leaving the majority of the lower level agents with little more than a sense of private failure.

The "pyramid sales" system has been criticized on many counts—not least on the coercive and deceptive nature of its sales motivation—and schemes similar to Amway's have been found to be illegal in various court decisions. But, although (according to an NBC Dateline programme) both the FBI and the IRS are investigating Amway, and despite a Federal Trade Commission finding of fraud and deception in 1979, the corporation itself has never been tested in court. (106) To a large extent, this must be due to the extremely close ties that the DeVos family maintains with the Republican Party—the Amway network having given more direct cash to the party than any other special interest.

This proximity to the Republican Party has remained in the case of Richard DeVos' son, Dick.(121) In 2006, Dick DeVos stood as a candidate for the Michigan Governorship—"the richest and most right-wing candidate for Governor in Michigan history", according to Russ Bellant—and, like his father, is heavily committed to the cause of making the United States an authoritarian Christian Republic based upon an unregulated free enterprise economy and "traditional family values". It is an ideological position firmly underwritten by the pattern of DeVos philanthropy—involving contributions to the Council for National Policy, Heritage Foundation, Acton Institute, Mackinac Center, Foundation for Traditional Values (which believes that Christianity in the United States was first subverted by the abolition of slavery, and which is affiliated to D. James Kennedy's Coral Ridge Ministry and Evangelism Explosion), Gospel Films (whose Board contains numerous De Vos family members and Amway representatives), Focus on the Family, and dozens of other conservative evangelical groups.

There is very little distance indeed between the ideology of the DeVos family and that of the Prince family. Besides this, the two families are connected through Dick DeVos' marriage to Edgar and Elsa Prince's daughter, Betsy. Another daughter, Emilie, married Craig Wierda, the owner of an injection moulding business, and

both Emilie and Craig are now the largest stockholders in the Elsa Prince Living Trust, while Craig is a director of Prince Corporation. As for Haggai Institute, it is almost another member of the family: Elsa Prince (Broekhuisen) "helped to pay off the mortgage" for the Institute's Maui campus; her daughter Emilie sits on the Board of Directors; and Haggai is assured of funding from some four family foundations.

The Princes, like the DeVos family, come from Dutch immigrant stock. Edgar Prince made his fortune from manufacturing automobile parts, and was a powerful supporter of the Republican Right. He was vice-president of the Council for National Policy, and—up to the time of his death in 1995—was its biggest funder. It was a pattern of loyalty that was continued by his children Emilie, Betsy, and Erik. With, in Erik's case, some significant innovation.

Erik Prince was raised in the Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church (now the Christian Reformed Church), but converted to Catholicism. He is a member of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta—one of a number of groups based loosely on the legacy of the Knights Hospitallers and the Crusader cause of defending the Christian West from assault by an Islamic East; and he is also on the Board of Christian Freedom International—which used to be Christian Solidarity International, an evangelical group deeply involved in Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan, and Iraq. He is a major funder not just of Haggai Institute, but of Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty, the Education Freedom Fund, and Christian Freedom International.(122) He is also the founder and CEO of Blackwater USA.

Armies of God (Inc.)—The Blackwater Link

Erik Prince believes strongly in a Christian market economy. In common with the DeVoses and the Van Andels, and in common with

the country's Republican Administration, Prince is an advocate of the privatization of most government services. And in Prince's case, this applies especially to the military—and most of all, it applies to relief and support missions in any dangerous environment, whether national or foreign. Private contractors, says Prince, can provide more effective, more efficient "relief with teeth" in a dangerous environment than either international aid organizations or the U.S. military: "Everybody carries guns," says Prince. "Just like Jeremiah rebuilding the Temple in Israel—a sword in one hand, a trowel in the other."(123)

Since Blackwater USA was founded, in 1997, Prince has had the satisfaction of seeing his vision at least tentatively realized. He has lobbied strongly through the mercenary trade association—the International Peace Operations Association—for the privatization of at least the military bureaucracy, and various armed functions like special operations, bodyguard duties, and armed convoy patrols. With the help of a sympathetic Administration, he has not only seen his vision largely realized—he has made a considerable profit on the process. Over the period 2004-2006 alone, Prince's company was paid $750 million by the State Department to "guard senior U.S. officials" in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere, mainly under a little known programme called the Worldwide Personal Protection Service. Overall, since 2000, the U.S. Government has paid Blackwater USA at least $1,000 million.

Erik Prince's involvement in America's humanitarian operations worldwide extends far beyond bodyguard duty, and far beyond Iraq. Blackwater has jungle training facilities in the Philippines, where it trains local "special forces". It was the first mercenary group to go into Afghanistan, after "9/11", to train Afghan forces. It is involved in Azerbaijan, training an elite group of 90 Azeri "special forces". It trains U.S. federal troops, troops from various branches of the U.S. military, local and federal law enforcement officers—and it manufactures surveillance blimps for use along the U.S.-Mexican border. And it

was heavily involved in New Orleans, after the floods, patrolling the city and (in particular) guarding the homes of the better-off. Soon, it is anticipated, Blackwater will be on official duty in southern Sudan.

Clearly, Erik Prince is hardly a lone ranger. In Iraq alone, there are over 100,000 private contractors involved in military and quasi-military activities. As well as Blackwater, there is DynCorp, and Triple Canopy—which, with 2,000 operatives, has a slightly bigger presence than Blackwater's. Indeed, given the willingness of many evangelical groups to work in zones of conflict such as Iraq, many of the larger agencies (such as World Vision) already have their own "personal security" forces.

Besides, Erik Prince's credentials establish him as one who is operating very close to the seat of power in the Western system. His membership of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta is something he shares with (among others) Heinrich Himmler, Kurt Waldheim, Rupert Murdoch, Tony Blair, Pat Buchanan, Ted Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, Nelson Mandela, and Augusto Pinochet. That he is a Catholic is of no consequence for the Protestant right-wing agenda. Indeed, Catholic and Protestant evangelicals in America share a great deal in common: one of the country's most evangelical Catholics, Father Richard Neuhaus (himself a convert from Lutheranism), recently co-authored with Charles Colson (of Prison Fellowship) a book called "Evangelists and Catholics Together: The Christian Mission in the Third Millenium"; and Dick DeVos, for his Governorship campaign manager, chose David Brandon, who, as successor to Tom Monaghan as president of Domino's Pizza, oversees the single most lucrative corporate source of Catholic funding in the country.

Within the structure of Blackwater USA itself, Prince's proximity to a wider power also shows. Joseph Schmitz, the company's Director, was the Pentagon's Inspector General before joining Blackwater. Schmitz' father was a national leader of the John Birch Society, and Schmitz himself is a member of Opus Dei and the Sovereign Military

Order of Malta. Cofer Black is another high profile former government official on the Blackwater payroll: Black was the C.I.A.'s Chief of Counter-terrorism, and it was he who developed and managed the U.S. Government's programme of "extreme rendition", with the aid of a number of Middle Eastern and European countries —including the United Kingdom and Malta, which is now operational base for Blackwater's presence in the Middle East.

The choice of Malta, of course, may simply be one of logistical good sense. But it is hard to avoid a sneaking suspicion that there are many around Blackwater who revel in the historic full circle it signifies. Much as World Vision would have coveted the acquisition of Nineveh. The Sovereign Military Order of Malta, after all, began as a Christian charity providing relief to pilgrims to the Holy Land. Once it was expelled, with the return of Muslim control, the Order eventually relocated in Malta, which it administered as a vassal Spanish state—and from where it launched raids against Muslim territories along the North African coast.

It is a significance that is well in tune with the credo of Haggai Institute. The Institute's worth, proclaims Haggai, "is proven by Islamic opposition ... Of the hundreds of ministries operating in the Middle East, (Haggai Institute is) one of only thirteen identified ... as a significant threat to Islam." Haggai Institute has "first-hand experience in dealing with radical followers of Islam ... (and) is committed to changing the world in a way that will prevent another September 11."

The Conquest of Tartary

Thomas S. Haggai is a Christian pastor and a business motivator. He reinforces his key points with folksy anecdotes in a way that can make the strictest business principle go straight to the heart. One of his favourite stories recounts how his father, also a pastor, would bring

home just $14 a week, and how—as a child—he was allowed to give sermons provided he met four strict criteria: he must show obedience to his parents, make straight "As" at school, do well in baseball—and make a profit on his paper round, which he had to share with his family and church. It was a tale that truly encapsulated the essence of being an American. Tom Haggai was born in Kalamazoo, Michigan, in 1931. Times were hard, and it was a difficult childhood. But for the rest of his life, Haggai would be spurred by the memory of the little couplet his mother would quote to him: "Good, better, best—never let it rest; until your good is better, and your better is best."

For many years, Tom Haggai hosted a radio talkshow delivering short talks of an inspirational nature, such as "What's Right With America?" He would give up to 700 motivational talks every year, concerning patriotism, free enterprise, and lifting productivity, to companies and organizations ranging from Belk Department Stores to General Motors to the Pentagon, where he worked during the 1950s as a C.I.A. operative. In 1963, he retired from the Baptist ministry so that he could focus on preaching in the business world, where his brand of inspirational sermon was particularly popular. At about this time, he began to give motivational speeches to the annual conventions of the Independent Grocers Alliance—a network linking manufacturers and wholesalers to independent retailers, in competition with the larger chain-stores. It was a connection that was to change his life.

In 2005, aged 74, Tom Haggai retired as President and Chairman of the company he had given his talks to over 40 years before. By now, I.G.A. was a major corporate player. It had grown to a multinational company supplying 4,500 supermarkets across the world, with retail sales of $23 billion. It was strong not only in the United States, but in Canada, Australia, the Caribbean, Japan, and Southeast Asia as well. And it was beginning to penetrate the most promising of all global markets—the People's Republic of China.

Haggai, of course, had not really retired. He came from a line of long-living relatives—his grandmother had died at 107, his father at 92—and he planned to go on. He was now in charge of I.G.A.'s push into Asia. The company's overseas activities were to be handled by a separate organization—IGA Global—incorporated in Singapore. The city republic was an ideal base for the new headquarters – it was strictly and efficiently governed, very friendly to foreign business, and predominantly Chinese. In addition, it was strongly Westernized in outlook, with a middle class increasingly influenced by American Christian virtues. It suited Haggai, and I.G.A., perfectly.

And so what, exactly, is the I.G.A.? Tom Haggai himself describes it in the most homely, the most reverential, of terms. The I.G.A.'s flagship brand in the United States is the Hometown Proud network of family stores—stores, says Haggai, which keep the family tradition going, which keep the community together, and which symbolize the heart of small town America. America, says Haggai, does not need more supermarkets—it needs more communities. It is a cause of almost religious conviction: "I look at I.G.A. as my ministry," says Haggai. The training to be a pastor, he believes, is similar to going into retailing: "It is good preparation. No-one owns the Southern Baptist churches. They are independently owned by the congregations who can sell them and vote to hire the ministers."(124)

So far, 4,500 family-owned supermarkets operate under the I.G.A. umbrella. It is an arrangement that goes under a number of names: it is variously the world's largest network of "independent", or "volunteer", or "licensed" supermarkets. But none of these really gets to the essence of the business.

Essentially, the Independent Grocers Alliance is a grouping of 55 major grocery manufacturers and 36 distribution companies, which supply member retailers under the single I.G.A. "brand"—thus bringing the smaller stores more tightly into a corporate market network, and allowing them (says I.G.A.) to gain economies of scale,

pool resources, and buy groceries in bulk from distributors. It is a way of countering the power of the chain stores; and it is also a way for distributors and manufacturers to maximize control over many small and diverse local stores. This, perhaps, is the key to the arrangement.

I.G.A. is owned by 16 wholesale food corporations which represent some 45% of wholesale food distribution in the United States. These 16 corporations—which include Alcoa, Campbells, Coca Cola, Colgate Palmolive, Heinz, Kelloggs, Philip Morris, and Nabisco—combine to form the Red Oval Partnership, representing the I.G.A. network. The arrangement is further cemented by the IGA/ Coca Cola Institute, which is essentially a training school for retail (and especially supermarket) management, affiliated to St Josephs University, Philadelphia, and sponsored by the Red Oval Partners.

Thus, the I.G.A. is first and foremost a device for assuring the large food combines of greater control over the non-chain store sector. It helps to consolidate, and rationalize, a notoriously fragmented (and therefore less profitable) market for such companies as Campbells, Gillette, Kraft, and Wrigleys—allowing them more efficient management of larger supply chains. To this extent, I.G.A. is also a front allowing such companies to penetrate more easily into difficult, and unconventional, markets.

And it is in this capacity that I.G.A. went into China.

In recent years, China's retail market—like much of its urban-industrial economy—has been booming. During the year 2004/2005, for example, retail sales were up by 13.7% to a total of $797 billion. It is a market that I.G.A., along with companies like Wal-mart and Carrefour, is tapping with enthusiasm: "In China," says Thomas Haggai, "there is so much opportunity it's scary."(125)

This opportunity is apparent from the following table, which indicates the penetration by fast food giants Yum! Brands and McDonalds of various Asian markets. (Yum! includes KFC, Pizza Hut, Taco Bell, A & W, and Long John Silver, and sells Pepsi; McDonalds sells Coca Cola).

Population per Fast Food Outlet (2006)

United States	9,000
Singapore	17,000
Malaysia	34,000
Indonesia	370,000
China	400,000

The opportunity for foreign investors was greatly increased with China's accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001. Already in China since 1995, I.G.A. saw its fortunes lift. By 2005, it had signed up five Chinese retailers with a total $1.6 billion in annual revenue. A year later, it was one third larger in China, in terms of revenue, than Wal-Mart and Carrefour combined.

The appeal of I.G.A., to both Chinese retailers and Government, lies partly in its "non-profit structure", according to Thomas Haggai. With entry into the W.T.O., the Chinese Government wished to moderate the role of outside business, and control the exit of profits. And as I.G.A. was a non-profit corporation with relatively low franchise fees, being an I.G.A. affiliated business did not, in itself, involve a great loss of wealth overseas. That problem would come later, no doubt, when I.G.A.'s Red Oval Partners began to fulfil the bulk buying orders promised by Haggai. It was a neat solution to the obstacle of state regulations controlling foreign free enterprise, and to the challenge of a retail market still dominated by small to medium family enterprises, with highly fragmented purchasing power. As far as the food and drink combines were concerned, Wal-Mart and Carrefour could look after themselves. By beginning to harness the

mass of "independent" retailers to the I.G.A. network, however, the major combines could gain a large foothold in the biggest—and perhaps the least easily penetrable—retail market in the world

It was a solution that John Haggai, of Haggai Institute, would admire.

Chapter Six

DEVILS IN HIGH PLACES

Prologue: The Sanborns Light a Bonfire

ART Sanborn is an ordained Baptist pastor. He is also director of the Youth With a Mission base in Tampa, Florida, where he trains young people to be missionaries according to YWAM's standard set of courses. Under Art's leadership, YWAM Tampa also offers special courses on evangelizing through the performing arts, and on ministry in Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, and Myanmar.

Art Sanborn and his wife Ellen are well suited to the specialties of YWAM Tampa. Ellen is a gospel singer and music teacher. Son David is a Christian playwright and actor, who has played the lead in a play about Jesus, and written a one-man play about the Christian slave Ben Hur; while son Sean is a computer programmer and evangelist. Together, the family have produced a number of evangelical CDs, tapes, and biblical dramas. More significant, however, is the Sanborns' overseas experience. For it was the Sanborn family, as much as anyone, who put Youth With a Mission on the evangelical map in Southeast Asia.

In 1975 the war in Vietnam came to an end, and by the end of the decade civil war was raging in Cambodia. As a result, the borders of four countries witnessed a steady stream of refugees and an expansion of refugee camps—especially in Thailand, which received large numbers of Khmers, as well as Lahu, Hmong, and ethnic Chinese from Laos and Vietnam, and a continuing influx of refugees from the Christianized states in Burma, where separatist movements had been gaining ground while the war was being fought in Indochina. In 1980, the changing situation prompted a meeting, in Thailand, of YWAM's international leadership, and the following year saw the start of YWAM's Cambodia/Thailand refugee camp ministry, and the arrival in Chiang Mai of Art and Ellen Sanborn.

Art had been made YWAM's National Director for Thailand, and under his leadership YWAM Chiang Mai expanded from a small backpackers' mission into a wide-ranging ministry with outreaches to both the majority Thai population and various groups of the north Thailand hill tribe people. From now on, special attention was to be given to the "unreached people groups" (both settled and refugee) around the borders with Burma, Laos, and Cambodia. In northern Thailand, some 14 churches were planted during the Sanborns' stay (with the first "cell group" starting up in 1981), the King's Kids ministry came to Chiang Mai, the "Jesus Film" was introduced to the region, and a large number of Bibles were smuggled across the border into Burma—by elephant, by boat, on horseback, and on foot. YWAM's Chiang Mai base expanded from a single house on Chang Khian Road to a ministry with four properties and 35 full-time staff. In 1987, after six years in northern Thailand, Art and Ellen Sanborn moved to Penang to help set up YWAM's Malaysian presence. More than a decade later, one of the Sanborn sons, Sean, returned to Chiang Mai as a trained evangelist.

Twenty five years after his father first arrived in the northern hills, Sean Sanborn was back planting churches amongst the Akha. His mission, like that of his parents, was to bring the light of the Gospel

to as many unbelievers as possible, to ease the burdens of poverty and illness amongst the hill people ... and to make bonfires out of the works of the Devil.

Big Guns and Little People: Evangelizing the Akha

The Akha are one of five tribal groups occupying the hills of northern Thailand. Originally from China, they maintain a genealogy of some 70 generations, and the more traditional amongst them can recite the names of every family head down the line. Like all hill-dwelling peoples, the Akha traditionally share a relationship with the landscape that is both delicately balanced and deeply spiritual. They practice shifting cultivation, with a crop rotation which varies in time according to the locality, and they grow hill rice, corn, and vegetables, together with a range of market crops such as tea, cotton, and (more recently) opium. They have a tradition of terrace rice farming, too, in lower areas where it is practicable, and an intricate knowledge of the resources of the forest, which provide much of their food, building materials, and medicines. The Akha's traditional world is one which humans and spirits share in a God-given and purposeful way: in the beginning, both humans and spirits came from the same parents, but the two eventually divided so that they could coexist, harmoniously, with the spirits inhabiting the forest and the night, and the Akha settling in villages and working through the day. The connection between the Akha and their spirits is intense, complex, and absolutely integral to the people's sense of identity. It is a connection on which their survival depends. And it is a connection made obvious in every traditional village through two symbolic structures: a large ceremonial swing, built every year to signify God's creation of the Akha, and a gate of guardian spirits, which stands on the higher side of the village, to ward off the evil spirits and welcome the good ones.(126)

But the Akha's world, like the worlds of hill-dwelling people everywhere, is close to extinction. By definition, a hill people's

culture is a marginal, residual culture, evolving over centuries of retreat—sometimes gradual, sometimes traumatic—from more powerful lowland invaders. The equilibrium they have evolved with their environment may be a testament to cultural ingenuity—but it is also a mark of great vulnerability. And the Akha are no exception to this. Pressures from outside—from lowland markets, from regional politics, and increasingly from foreign interest—threaten to destroy both the Akha's environment and the Akha as a people. The story is much the same in other parts of Southeast Asia, throughout the Pacific, in India, in Central Asia, in Africa, and in both North and South America. But as in every other case, the story of the Akha is a story worth telling.

To Westerners, the Akha may be familiar for one of three reasons: their agriculture, it is said, destroys the forest; they grow opium; and they are a colourful part of the hill trekking route. It is, for the most part, a self-serving mythology.

The forests of the Golden Triangle have long been subject to a range of pressures far more destructive than the shifting cultivation of the hill peoples. Largescale logging has been underway for well over a century—and commercial logging has rarely been mindful of the need to conserve or restore a cropped landscape, as is the case with swidden farmers. Indeed, by reducing the availability of forest for shifting cultivation, and therefore the length of fallow, commercial logging has served mainly to undermine whatever equilibrium once existed between the farmer and the forest, thereby compounding its own destructiveness. In this way, and through its demands on local labour, the timber industry has hardly helped the survival of the hill people's cultures.

Besides timber, the hill environment yields a good many other benefits to outside markets. Crops which the Akha have long grown as village crops, with perhaps a small market surplus for village benefit, are now farmed on plantation scale, on tribal land, by outsiders—for

example tea, coffee, flowers, and fruit—and new crops, of which the Akha have no experience, are likewise consuming local land, water, and sometimes labour. Opium—the cash crop which so defines the Akha in Western eyes—is itself a relatively new addition to the local market economy, becoming well-established by the 1930s and then flourishing after 1950 through the combined efforts of the Kuomintang Chinese and U.S. intelligence services.(127) The Akha have long cultivated the opium poppy, and have long used opium as a pain-killer, but their involvement in the global drug trade itself is minimal—beyond their work as porters, and as consumers of the much harder drugs (such as heroin) which are now sold in the urban areas, and which are resorted to as opium itself is increasingly suppressed. The opium poppy itself may have dwelt well enough with Akha culture. The politics of the drugs trade, combined with the intrusion of nationalist rivalries and global imperialism, were quite another matter.(128)

Over the last 50 years, the Akha have been victims of two quite contradictory pressures from Western drugs trade policy. During the 1960s, they were engaged to transport both precursor chemicals and finished opium for the C.I.A. and KMT-sponsored drugs industry, and also found themselves recruited to build runways for the Air America planes handling the export business. Then, from the 1980s onwards, changed priorities saw the U.S., Thai, and (for some years) Burmese governments unite against opium cultivation in the northern hills, with disastrous results for the Akha: under the banner of fighting the "Drugs War", villagers were frequently terrorized by military and police operations, fields were defoliated with 2,4-D herbicide, swidden farming was banned, and many villages were forced out of the upland watersheds to relocate to lower (and often malarial) regions, where no farmland was available.

And there were other pressures too. As the urban middle classes expanded, the demand for country villas, golf courses, and holiday homes did as well—and the traditional village lands of the Akha (and

those of other hill peoples) were prime targets for expropriation. Land titles were vague and often non-existent, and the Akha were frequently without official identity in any case. Besides, the commercial economy of the city, by its very nature, was bound to penalize groups like the Akha—they had virtually no market advantage, were easily exploited, and were discriminated against by the Thai government, by the Thai (and Chinese) population, and by Westerners. They had only nominal access to proper education, to proper medical treatment, to normal political and legal rights. The Akha, like the Hmong, the Adivasis of India, and the natives of the Amazon, were to be penalized precisely because of their tenacious marginality—precisely because they persisted, wraith-like, on the edge of power and empire.

The Akha belong to the periphery. Their marginality is a marginality which cannot be co-opted, absorbed, or institutionalized by the metropolitan system: its swidden basis cannot be accommodated, and neither can its folk memory nor its close village community nor its animistic view of the world. The contradiction is apparent wherever the two meet: in farming, in politics, in trade, in social relations, in religion. And in every case, inevitably, it is the Akha who lose.

For well over a century, the hill people of Asia's border regions have been the target of sustained Western missionizing. The strategic significance of such regions is one reason for this; their resource base is another. But there is a third, and ostensibly less material, reason for such missionizing—and that is the distaste felt within an imperial religion for animism, and for any system of belief that denies the dominion of man over the rest of nature. Accordingly, throughout the world, animistic religions have been demonized and crushed. To a large extent, this has occurred because of the conjunction of two imperatives—the desire for material profit, and the desire to win souls; although where the one ends and the other begins is often extremely unclear. Throughout Southern Asia, the tribal border regions have long been a favoured field for Western missionaries, with the result that the Nagas and the Mizos in India, and the Chin and Kachin of

Burma, are now largely Christian, and large Christian populations exist amongst the Karen and Shan of Burma. And in the region of the Golden Triangle, the same process is underway.(129)

Indeed, for all evangelical missions in northern Thailand, the border is one of the main reasons for existence—precisely because tribes such as the Akha, Lahu, and Lisu offer the means to overcome it, as conduits of influence into restricted regions like Burma, southern China, and to some extent Laos and Cambodia. But it is not only local tribes who are utilized. The Mizos and the Nagas of northeast India share no border with Thailand, but as highly literate and strongly Christianized hill cultures (the Mizos are some 60% Presbyterian, the Nagas 75% Baptist—but 90% Christian) they provide an extremely effective missionary force for work amongst other hill cultures in similar geographic circumstances—Mizo evangelists, for example, work with a number of Akha Baptist churches, and the O.M.F.'s Strategy Coordinator for its Akha/Hani Ministry is a Mizo. But Mizo Christians play not only a regional role. The wider use of Mizo "native missionaries" throughout the world—managed through groups like the Mizo Christian Global Network—even extends to the Mizo-fronted "re-evangelization" of South Wales, the homeland of missionaries who first evangelized northeastern India in the 19th century.

And it is not only Christians who see the Mizos (and the hills they live in) as strategically useful. In April, 2005, Israel's Sephardi Chief Rabbi, Shlomo Amar, officially recognized the Mizo as Bnei Menashe – or descendants of the ancient Israelites. This confirmed a decision made by Rabbi Avichail Eliyahu, founder of Amishav (a group dedicated to bringing the "Lost Tribes" home), that the Mizo were indeed part of the Jewish Diaspora. Accordingly, in September 2005, a full Israeli Rabbinical Court (complete with mikvah designed by an Israeli-Iranian rabbi) was held in Aizawal, the capital of Mizoram, to officially convert some 200 Mizos—and a number of Nepalis—to Judaism.(130)

Geopolitically, the move has a certain piquancy. Mizos already make up the largest ethnic group amongst settlers in Israel's occupied territories—where they are seen, like other "Bnei Menache", as a solution to Israel's "demographic problem". In the border regions of southern Asia, however, the implications are rather more complex. Many in the West, certainly, would welcome a Mizo sense of affinity with Israel—not least the Christian Right (which, through the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews, funded the Aizawal conversions). Mizoram, after all, is a Christian state surrounded by Bengali Muslims, Burmese Buddhists, and Indian Hindus—and such a situation, properly handled, will make the state an effective 'listening post' for Western (including Israeli) strategists. But that is not all. It is already being suggested, in Baptist circles, that the Nagas are quite probably descendants of the Danites—one of the ten Lost Tribes of Israel. And Nagaland, also strategically placed, is both the world's most Baptist state, and one of the world's most important exporters of missionaries.

Amongst the Akha of northern Thailand, some 60% of all villages (or about 180 villages) are now at least nominally Christian. As in the case of the Nagas, the "Christianizing" of the Akha is largely the work of American evangelicals, particularly Southern Baptists, who have flooded into the region over the past forty years as a concomitant of U.S. involvement in Indochina, with strong support from the U.S. Government—and, at the very least, the tacit support of the Thai Government.

There are over 100 evangelical mission groups located in northern Thailand, all working on the hill people, all involved in church planting, and most seeking in some way to 'extract' young people from their traditional culture—if not from their village communities.(131) There are three main groups of Baptists involved: those in the Association of Baptists for World Evangelism (ABWE), those in the Thailand Baptist Missionary Fellowship (TBMF), and Chinese Baptists both local and from Taiwan and Hong Kong.

The ABWE represents the more fundamentalist wing of independent churches in the U.S.—many with strong connections to Christian Zionism. It derives considerable funding from right-wing donors such as the West Michigan-based foundations of John and Rewa Miller, John and Judy Spoelhof, and Richard and Helen DeVos. It also works heavily through the Philippines ABWE and Filipino missionaries, as well as the Grace Baptist Church in Bangkok, and to date can lay claim to the planting of 16 Akha churches, as well as a number amongst the Lahu and Karen.

Baptist missions associated with the TBMF belong to the evangelical mainstream. Although the TBMF is an alliance of six national Baptist groups (U.S., U.K., Australian, Japanese, Swedish, and Norwegian), most of the missions are from the U.S. and work through U.S. umbrella agencies such as International Ministries and American Baptist Women's Ministry, usually in Missionary Partnership Teams, as well as with "non-denominational" agencies like Overseas Missionary Fellowship, and Baptist "relief and development" charities such as Heifer International. The TBMF, like the ABWE, maintain links with the Thailand Lahu Baptist Convention and the Thailand Karen Baptist Convention, and they also provide the main sponsors for the local Baptist umbrella group Akha Churches in Thailand, or A.C.T., which accounts for 59 Akha churches.

Like American Baptists, the Chinese Baptists in Thailand maintain strong connections to the political right in their home country—representing, like the Taiwan political elite, the K.M.T. and its modern equivalent. To this extent, they identify strongly with residual K.M.T. (and drug trade) interests in the region, and have an interest in extending Chinese Christian influence amongst the hill peoples who straddle the borders—especially the border with southern China. The Chinese Baptists share with Western evangelicals a fascination with making an entry into southern China through the Akha population of the border region—and for remarkably similar reasons. The creation of a corps of Baptist Akha, fluent in Chinese, would immeasurably

aid the strategic goals of both groups—in much the same way that the cross-border activities of Christian Mizos, Nagas, Karen, and Lahu are already being exploited. Missions such as the Maesai Chinese Baptist Mission, located a few kilometers from the Burmese border, inevitably play a key role in the process.

Overall, the global Baptist network provides an extremely effective framework for channeling funds, from a variety of sources, towards mission fields like northern Thailand. In the United States alone, there are 40,000 SBC congregations and 10,000 Independent Baptist congregations. On average, SBC congregations contribute $5,500 a year to mission activity, while Independent Baptist congregations contribute $13,500. Individual churches many spend far more—the 30,000-strong congregation of Bellevue Baptist Church in Memphis, for example, spends $5.5 million on missionary work in more than a dozen countries (out of an annual budget of $22 million). At the very least, if just 10% of U.S. Baptist church mission funding went to Thailand, the total would come to some $35 million. In fact, many Baptist churches—like the First Baptist Church of Boulder, Colorado—send over 10% of their total mission and outreach funds to Thailand, and especially to northern Thailand.

Baptist congregations in other parts of the world, too, contribute to the missionary effort amongst the Akha. In Singapore, for example, there are 46 Baptist churches, including a number of "mega-churches" with congregations of over 10,000 people. Many of these, too, make a contribution to Akha evangelization—Kay Poh Road Baptist Church, for instance, sponsors a number of Mizo preachers who work with Akha churches and the O.M.F. in Thailand. Besides, significant funding also comes from churches in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Australia, New Zealand, and many European countries—especially Sweden, Norway, and Germany. But Chinese Baptists in the wider Pacific region are especially targeted for funding, through such alliances as that between Partners International and Christian Nationals Evangelism Commission, which links the region's Baptist

congregations strongly to evangelizing border peoples—thus, Singapore's Sponsor-A-Child ministry has on their books some 3,000 children in Northern Thailand, Myanmar, and West Kalimantan. Such ministries are strongly evangelical: in the CNEC's nine Grace Haven "orphanages' in North Myanmar, for example, the children are taught to memorize some 100 Bible verses in Lisu—as a means of "hiding God's word in their hearts and in their own language."(132)

Church congregations, of course, are only part of the picture. Evangelization of the Akha also benefits much more widely from the "three-legged stool" network of government-corporate-church involvement. A wide range of activities in the region are jointly funded by the U.S. State Department and various corporate foundations, but carried out partly or wholly by mission agencies—in such fields as crop substitution, family planning, health education (and especially HIV/AIDS awareness), monitoring and policing of the sex trade and human trafficking, and so on. In particular, joint programmes with such groups as Family Health International, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Elton John Foundation, and Heifer International—as well as with various U.N. bodies—all affect the Akha, in some degree, through the mission groups which are locally involved. Heifer International, originally a Baptist Brethren charity providing livestock, has been in Thailand since 1974, and funds a number of projects in the region in tandem with USAID, and with such local mission partners as Mekong Minority Foundation, AKHA Foundation, Beulah Land Services, Thailand Karen Baptist Convention, and Thailand Lahu Baptist Convention. World Vision, too, has pumped million of dollars into evangelizing northern Thailand—through its refugee programmes, its village development projects, and its campaign to halt "human trafficking" and the sex trade.

The effort to evangelize Thailand's hill people, over the past two decades, has involved the investment of many tens of millions of dollars, and a complex multi-agency network of activity. The work

involved is only marginally "developmental": some missions maintain a token presence in such fields as micro-financing, crop substitution schemes, housing, and the development of small industries, but this is largely cosmetic. By far the most emphasis is on the building of a comprehensive network of institutions, throughout the region, to encourage and control the "christianizing" process. This has three main aspects:

(a) programmes of population control;
(b) village church planting and extension of the network of pastors; and
(c) institutionalizing of "vulnerable" groups, especially children.

The process is predicated upon a very simple proposition: the Akha are poor and marginal because they are servants of the Devil—their only hope is to become Christian and thus part of the metropolitan society; the "problem" of the border hill people thus ceases to exist.

The policy of population control is one that has long been associated with both Protestant evangelicals and the United States Agency for International Development—as well as with national governments, such as that of Thailand, faced with irksome minority problems. The case of Dr Paul Lewis and the Akha is of particular interest.

Dr Lewis is a man of some versatility. He gained his Bachelor of Arts at Baylor Christian University in 1944, and his Bachelor of Divinity at Eastern Baptist College three years later. On leaving Eastern College, he became a missionary to the Akha—in both Burma and northern Thailand. He produced the first Akha-English dictionary during the 1960s, and wrote the ethnographic chapter on the Akha for Human Relations Area Files in 1968. Continuing his ministry in the Golden Triangle, he obtained USAID funding in 1973 for a sterilization programme amongst Akha women from both

Burma and northern Thailand. The programme was carried out at the Presbyterian McCormick Hospital in Chiengmai and involved many hundreds of women (some estimates go as high as 20,000) who were recruited and paid through Dr Lewis's network of village pastors. For a thesis on the project, Dr Lewis gained his Ph.D. in Anthropology from Oregon University in 1978.

Dr Lewis's project, many critics claim, was a programme of forced sterilization. The women involved were effectively coerced, through bribery and misinformation, to undergo operations which, in overall terms, led to a desired reduction in the rate of Akha population growth—and, on Dr Lewis's own estimation, perhaps little else of benefit to the Akha themselves. The legitimacy of the entire project rested upon full and comprehensible publicity, and largescale informed consent—this, say the critics (including many of the recruiting pastors) was woefully lacking. In addition to this, clinical follow-up of the participants was minimal, and as a consequence many were permanently (and often fatally) damaged. Some 3,000 women died, it is alleged, as a result of untreated complications.(133)

The sterilization project was just a part of Dr Lewis's ministry to the Akha. For at least two decades, Lewis had been involved, with many other foreign missionaries, in church planting and other proselytizing. America's strategic interest in the border region had increased since 1950 because of the Chinese Revolution, the rise of Burmese socialism, and the war in Indochina, and both the C.I.A. and U.S. missionaries greatly expanded their presence there as a consequence. Following Burma's expulsion of Christian missionaries and U.S. defeat in Indochina, however, both groups redeployed their forces—with a special emphasis on northern Thailand. The use of McCormick Hospital for the sterilization of thousands of Akha living in Burma was a sign of this. The massive influx of "church-planting" and "tent-making" missionaries into Thailand's Akha villages was another.

"Tent-making" and "church-planting" go together—indeed, most missionaries do both. The initial approach to a target group will invariably be in the guise of practical aid, addressing the areas of greatest material need—the provision of medicines, for example, or school books, food, or cleaner water. Hill people such as the Akha are by definition severely disadvantaged, which means there are ample opportunities for "tent-making" activities. But the Akha's lack of political and cultural advantage within the wider Thai system means that they are especially vulnerable to the tent-makers' real mission—the subversion and destruction of village culture. In other words, Christianization and westernization.(134)

The object of evangelization, ostensibly, is to break the Devil's hold over the Akha and thereby to raise them from their Slough of Despond. The key is a change in leadership. As the traditional leadership of an Akha village is the medium through which the Devil enters, this must be either transformed or destroyed. But the leadership of an Akha village also represents the essence of Akha culture: it mediates between the people, the land, and their spirits; it embraces the functions of moral authority, ceremonial authority, teacher, and doctor; and it embodies the history and the genealogy of the village. It is a collective leadership (involving five elders and including the village healer, or Nyeeh Pah, and the village historian and poet, or Peeh Mah) whose purpose and functioning are inextricably interwoven into wider village life. The missionary's church, in contrast, comprises a single pastor and a subject congregation, with no necessary connection to the surrounding world—save that articulated by the missionary himself.

Evangelization, in such a context, is basically an exercise in squaring the circle. It is rarely possible to convert all (or even most) of a village's leadership, and so the adoption of Christianity will usually involve the splitting of the leadership (and therefore the village as a whole). Otherwise,the new spirituality must be either imposed or slipped in through the weakest point of the village—

for example, someone seriously ill or with a drug problem. Often, children (especially those in a family of influence) are converted for the purpose of created a village pastor—A-Jay, the founder of Akha Outreach, for example,was the 13 year old son of a village leader when he was appointed. Once such a pastor is appointed, and a congregation (however small) is created, one more church will be planted—and one more village will divide, often physically, into Christian and non-Christian communities. This causes not just severe social disruption: according to Alberto de la Paz, curator of a hill-tribe museum run by Thailand's Population and Community Development Association, such a division means that village-based development programmes of any kind—whether in agriculture, or education, or community health—are virtually impossible to organize properly.(135)

In such a situation, the traditional community is usually more accommodating of converts than the convert community is of tradition. Conversion involves a great deal more than simply adjusting the leadership: converts will be expected to assume Christian names, for example, and reject the guiding influence of genealogy (and, therefore, of much oral history); they will be expected to reject the old spirituality of day-to-day things, such as cooking and growing crops, of rites of passage, of symbolic structures like the village swing and the guardian gates; and they will be drawn ever more firmly into an alien system of medicine, education, and language. In the process, the missionary—the keeper of the new order—becomes the arbiter of what the Akha convert may retain and must adopt: thus, while the Devil himself must be banished, and while his "demon houses" and his "fetishes" must be ceremoniously burned, some of his "paraphenalia" may be retained, even mass-produced, as an attraction to both tourists and missionary funders. In the same way, the Akha's singing of history is cut adrift from genealogy to become the stuff of gospel choirs ....

In this respect, the hill people of Thailand have suffered the fate of tribal people all over the world—their cultures trashed, their artifacts

reduced to ethnic chic for the Western market.(136) Now, around Chiang Mai, Baptist missionary-entrepreneurs run "Business-As-Mission" workshops, using Akha women to make bookmarks, bum bags, baby carriers and table mats for the mission boutique—while in the villages those same missionaries pose for the camera, flushed with triumph, as ancestral buildings are ritualistically torched—and as Akha culture literally goes up in flames behind them.(137)

The evangelization process, in its local tactics and detail, may be scrupulously planned, or it may be a matter of on-the-spot trial and error by the over-eager and unprepared. Most of the bigger agencies will prepare the ground by sending in a Non-Resident Missionary (or a Strategy Coordinator) to "contextualize" the target group—that is, to prepare a research profile of some eight to ten pages, which will determine how the group should be approached, what leverage exists for "tent-making" penetration, what cultural traits may be exploited, what must be eliminated. In the case of the Akha, much of this groundwork has already been laid by Paul Lewis, and mission agencies benefit from a considerable archive of ethnographical data tailored from an evangelical Baptist's point of view. Accordingly, many agencies will prepare themselves to minister to a tribal group which excel in "oral communication" (especially singing and the telling of oral history), and in woodcraft, metalwork, and textiles; which believe in the powers of the village "shaman" and herbal medicine; which engage in expensive animal sacrifices to the ancestors; and which once practiced infanticide on female twins.(138)

Such "contextualization" provides a ready guide to points of vulnerability; it also provides the justification for tactics used in exploiting these points. Like many other "unreached people groups", the Akha are portrayed as a people who mistreat their children, and in particular their female children. Because of their culture, it is claimed, they are an unclean people—and this has especially grave effects on their children:

> "The Akha," according to one mission, "have the highest incidence of AIDS of all tribal groups in Thailand because of their very immoral lifestyles and high rates of prostitution... making sacrifices to spirits keeps them very poor and encourages unhealthy lifestyles (e.g., infrequent washing). So it's not surprising that they've been so responsive to the Gospel in Thailand."(139)

It is a stereotype based almost entirely upon a misreading of Akha culture, and upon willful ignorance of the nature of rural poverty, but it gives legitimacy to one of the most popular (and most controversial) of evangelization techniques—the extraction from the village of children and teenage girls for grooming in Christian hostels or "residential schools".

Treasures of Darkness

Most converts to Christianity are children, and many of these would be the inmates of "residential schools." Indeed, the use of the "residential school" system is well-established as a means of Christianizing native groups in colonized territories. But in Thailand it is a recent development, reflecting the enhanced role of evangelical Christianity in Western foreign policy over the past twenty years or so. Thus, while there are dozens of such hostels in northern Thailand—some holding a handful of young people, some holding hundreds—few are more than ten years old. The table below lists the more well-known among them.

Residential Schools and Hostels for Young People in North Thailand

(a) **ABWE-affiliated:**
House of Blessing (day care)
Agape Home
House of Love
Home of the Warm Heart

(b) **ABCUSA-affiliated:**
New Life Centers (Lahu and Akha)

(c) **Chinese Baptist affiliated:**
Mesai Baptist Mission Boarding School
Maesai Lisaw Children's Home
Haen Taek Akha Boarding School

(d) **Pentecostal/Charismatic-affiliated:**

House of Joy	House of Grace
Children of the Golden Triangle	Eden House*
Home of the Open Heart *	Happy Home*
House of Miracles +	Akha Mercy Home*
	River of Life*

*YWAM + Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)

(e) **Presbyterian and Methodist:**

Christian Paisansart School	Home of New Beginning

(f) **Evangelical Lutheran:**
Hilltribes Resources and Development Center (Mae Chem) 200 Karen children—children, founder missionary from Mizoram

(g) **Non-mission Hostels:**

Starfish Home *	Starfish Country Home School *
Wildflower Home *	Children of the Forest
Moo Baan Dek (Children's Village)	

* Richard P. Haugland

As the table suggests, those who set up "residential schools" come from a wide range of backgrounds. However, all justify their actions in much the same way. Mission agencies, in particular, justify removing village children to hostels with claims that those affected are orphans and/or HIV/AIDS sufferers, and are therefore unable to remain in the village—at best, parents are pressed to release children in the hope of a better education and therefore employment. Too frequently, however, the evangelisation of Akha youth through the residential school system is justified in terms of far more grotesque stereotypes: children must be "rescued" from a range of evils which are endemic (even intrinsic) in Akha culture, such as drug addiction, prostitution, parental abuse, child trafficking, child labour, and infanticide. In this way, the exercise sits comfortably within the evangelicals' (and the U.S. State Department's) wider project of intervention in defence of human rights—a position which, at the very least, is a firm guarantee of funding.

As with many other aspects of missionary activity, the justification is disingenuous: many of the "evils" are grossly exaggerated or relate to a complexity of factors either not comprehended by the missionary or willfully misinterpreted. The problem of drug addiction amongst the Akha, for example, relates primarily to such factors as the prohibition on opium cultivation in Akha fields, the urbanization of poor Akha, and the availability of commercial hard drugs like heroin; the problem of prostitution, too, is misrepresented as one of family abuse, rather than as a concomitant of poverty, migration, and commercialization (including the pressures of a tourist industry which demands the "bashful" accessibility of tribal women)—and, often, a by-product of the very hostel system which the missionaries portray as saving souls.

The proliferation of "residential schools" for Akha children reflects not only the evangelicals' enthusiasm. It also reflects the contempt with which the Akha are regarded in wider Thai society. Nominal registration with the Thai government is required, but there is in fact

little effective control over who may establish such an institution, and what procedures should be followed once it is in place. Thus, quite apart from any objection to the principle of residential schools for the Akha, the system also tends to be poorly administered and therefore open to abuse. This much is clear from a brief survey of even the better-known hostels.

In many cases, the hostel's name suggests the founding mission's public philosophy. Eden House, according to YWAM, is based on biblical precedent:

> "The Garden of Eden was a sanctuary for God's children. Eden House, Chiang Rai, is also based on the same idea. Created in 1997, Eden House is a non-profit Christian-based home, situated some 30 miles from the Burmese border. Eden House is dedicated to extracting young girls from extreme 'at risk' situations. Most of the girls are Akha ... This group is considered to be of the lowest caste by many people in Thailand."

The 'extraction' of young girls from their villages is justified, says Youth With A Mission, because hill tribe girls are often sold into prostitution or slave labour by parents to "support drug and/or alcohol addiction." Like most of YWAM's projects in Thailand, Eden House is a part of Project L.I.F.E.—or Living in a Family Environment. Appropriately, says YWAM, girls that come to Eden House "experience real love for the first time in our family-oriented environment." But the publicity does not mention that such 'extraction' of children is an arbitrary process, enforced unilaterally by the mission and legally unsanctioned—and as much a tactic of conversion as the razing of ancestral shrines on the grounds of public hygiene.

YWAM's 'Project L.I.F.E.', begun in 1983 under Art Sanborn, is the mission's umbrella scheme for its 'mercy ministries'. These 'mercy ministries' target primarily women and children, and YWAM's eight hostels are devoted to women "rescued from the sex trade", and

children said to be orphaned, HIV-positive, or in some way abused by the family—including the babies of female prison inmates. It is an emphasis that wins numerous friends, and no little funding. And YWAM is certainly not alone in finding that the Asian sex trade, in one way or another, is perhaps the most potent "omnibus" issue that evangelicals can have—uniting, as it does, the advocates of Christian morality (and especially "family" morality), of population control, of "human rights", of the "war on drugs", and of the war on the "primitive".

The Children of the Golden Triangle hostel, though not part of YWAM's Project L.I.F.E., is nevertheless closely associated with the mission through the placement of YWAM outreach workers from the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. Sponsored by Rotary International, C.G.T. is the largest of the Akha hostels, housing some 520 young people—or "extracted treasures of darkness", as the publicity calls them. The group was criticized for exploiting its young charges as unpaid labour during the hostel's construction in 2000 and 2001—a criticism which apparently failed to get Rotary to withdraw its sponsorship. It has also been criticized, by some of its own ex-workers, for failing to provide anything more than a rudimentary schooling beyond bible classes.(140)

Hostels started by Richard P. Haugland have also come in for considerable criticism for poor educational standards, "no educational structure", absence of childcare qualifications, and the abandonment of all but a highly selected elite of students—Haugland, ex-workers claim, uses song-and-dance "talent shows" to determine who, amongst the village children, are the liveliest, and therefore the chosen. Haugland himself has little experience in running institutions for children. But he does have a great deal of money. In 2003, he sold the company he had founded—Molecular Probes, Inc.—for $325 million. Molecular Probes Inc. was a leader in genetic marking using fluorescent-based technologies, and Haugland had some 70 patents to his name in that, and related, areas of expertise. Haugland has now

retired to northern Thailand, where he has constructed numerous hostels and related facilities for young people—including one with a swimming pool and a small golf course; at the same time, his Richard P. Haugland Foundation funds a wide range of similar (and largely non-religious) agencies in Thailand and Cambodia, many with strong connections to Western corporate philanthropy and the music industry. Haugland's hostels also play host to the interns program of Oregon State University, which maintains a strong interest in northern Thailand.(141)

The hostels linked to the Chinese Baptist Churches are the tip of a rather different kind of iceberg. There are some 8,000 to 10,000 Chinese living in North Thailand. Many of these are Baptist, and retain strong links with Taiwan—through the relict KMT network which once dominated the opium trade, and through the export of migrant workers (there are about 130,000 migrant workers from Thailand in Taiwan). The Maesai Chinese Baptist Mission, located a few kilometers from the Burmese border, works with the evangelical DAWN Project, an outreach to recovering drug users sponsored by Partners International (the successor to N.A.Jepson's China Native Evangelistic Crusade), and also operates at least three residential homes for hill tribe children—on land and in buildings donated by Khun Sa, the late KMT "drug lord" of the Golden Triangle. Some 250 Akha children live on the premises, under the instruction of Taiwan Chinese and Lisu pastors, whose brief is primarily to Christianize and Sinicize—with classes often being taught in Chinese. The mission is also involved in church-planting activities amongst the surrounding Akha population.

Of all the "residential schools", the Baptists' New Life Centers are perhaps the most professionally organized. There are two New Life Centers in northern Thailand, housing about 120 girls from Lahu and Akha villages, and sponsoring some 100 more still living in the village. They were inspired by Paul Lewis, who also set up a business selling Akha arts and crafts (Thai Tribal Crafts) and an agency known as the

Development, Agricultural, and Educational Project for the Akha (or DAPA, now renamed the AKHA Foundation—or the "Akha Kinship and Holistic Alternatives Foundation"). Their establishment and their organization, however, is the product of a Missionary Partnership between an American Baptist Women's Ministry programme called Break the Chains: Slavery in the 20th Century and International Ministries, employing the services of Lauren Bethel, a "global consultant" based in Prague, and Good Samaritan Technologies, a media/IT support agency which specializes in connecting Missionary Partnership Teams. Funding for the hostels comes from USAID as well as the Baptist Church's and various other non-governmental donations—including the First Baptist Church of Boulder, Colorado. In 2006, the First Baptist Church of Boulder (one of over 50,000 Baptist churches in the U.S.) sent $3,000, or over 10% of its total Mission and Outreach budget, to Thailand—evenly divided between a missionary couple in Bangkok, an Akha village cooperative mission producing coffee (which the mission contracted to Starbucks), and Lauren Bethel for her work with the New Life Centers. All three enterprises are run by International Ministries' Missionary Partnership Teams, under the aegis of the Thailand Baptist Missionary Fellowship.

Paul Lewis' New Life Centers, then, indicate one of the main characteristics of the missionary hostel system in Thailand. It is merely a small part of a huge and interconnected multinational operation, involving many levels of administration and an often bewildering network of linkages. The wider operation, of course, is not wholly an evangelizing enterprise. At the level of the Akha village, it involves a modicum of development work—such as the provision of a safe water supply, help with growing and marketing a cash crop, and the promotion of Akha crafts; while in Bangkok, "vulnerable" women are absorbed into various"Business-as-Mission" concerns such as the NightLights Mission, which manufactures costume jewellery. It also involves, in a crucial respect, the most powerful evangelical agency of all.

Sex Slaves For Jesus

The main objective of the hostel system is the conversion of the Akha (and other hill peoples), the creation of pastors, and the planting of churches. But at a more global level, the system is just a tiny cog in a far more complex machine, with far wider and more worldly purposes.

World Vision, strategically and politically, is perhaps the most important of all Christian mission groups. Its role as a vehicle for U.S. foreign policy is wide-ranging and well-funded, and tightly connected to various departments of the U.S. Government. It is especially adept at managing situations which involve large populations of displaced or marginalized people, such as border regions and refugee camps. In particular, it plays a vital part in promoting, monitoring, and enforcing the "human rights" agenda of the U.S. in regions where it is politic to do so. In Thailand, as in other Southeast Asian countries, World Vision operates as a U.S.Government "human rights" policeman, using the guise of its front organization, the International Justice Mission. In this capacity, World Vision works with the U.S. State Department, the Department of Labor, a number of U.S. mission groups based in Thailand, a range of corporate foundations (such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, which is one of I.J.M.'s main funders), and the Thai police—specifically to strengthen the framework (both moral and political) within which the U.S. can expand its influence.

Thailand, like many other non-Western countries, offers a number of "entry points" for the creation of such a regime—the drugs trade, "slave labour", child trafficking, and (above all, and in various manifestations) the sex trade. Given the strategic importance of northern Thailand, these vulnerabilities are seen to be especially noteworthy in that region. Hence the proliferation of Christian hostels. Hence, too, the presence of World Vision and its front agency, the International Justice Mission.

The International Justice Mission, whose Thai headquarters are in Chiang Mai, has paid special attention to "the cause of the vulnerable hill tribes, and in particular the abduction of young hill tribe girls into forced prostitution." The rights of such people demand the agency's intervention, it is argued, because of police corruption, lax law enforcement, and the presence of "a culture in which no-one flinches when a hill-tribe father, strapped for cash, sells his teenage daughter to a Bangkok brothel owner."(Kathy McBride, The Recorder) In justifying its presence in this way, I.J.M. is no different to the scores of other Christian missions in northern Thailand. Where it does differ is in its role (through both funding and administrative connection) as a United States Government proxy—a role played in tandem with such bodies as the U.S.-Thai International Law Enforcement Academy in Bangkok (founded in 1999, and one of five such bodies set up by Washington—the others being at Roswell, New Mexico, Honduras, Budapest, and Botswana).

In 2002, World Vision was contracted by the U.S. State Department to work on reducing the problem of "human trafficking" between Burma and Thailand. In addition to this, in the same year, I.J.M. was granted $700,000 by the U.S. Department of Labor "to fight child trafficking" in northern Thailand—serving as a liaison between government officials and missionaries in the field, recording "abuses", and apprehending alleged abusers, as well as placing the "victims" in care. The programme, which was initially for three years, involved I.J.M. liaising with Trafcord (the Anti-Trafficking Coordinating Unity of North Thailand) and using its own surveillance experts and the region's missionary network to identify "victims" and "perpetrators". The agency then conducted joint raids with police brought in from Bangkok—to prevent local police "tip-offs". Once the raids were over, I.J.M. would promptly hand credit to the Thai Police in order to maintain its anonymity, and transfer "victims" into the care of Baptist New Life Centers.

The I.J.M.'s activities in Thailand have been heavily criticized. Local NGOs who work with women in the sex trade say that the agency's heavy-handedness has been counter-productive—driving the trade harder underground, and defeating campaigns for safer sex and HIV/AIDS prevention.(142) One particularly strong critic has been the local women's aid group Empower Foundation Chiang Mai, whose own workers have at times been caught up in I.J.M.'s "rescue missions", and which has had considerable success in campaigns for safer sex and in placing ex-prostitutes in alternative employment. Empower, however, is a non-evangelical group, and its efforts in rehabilitation do not have the benefit of quite so powerful a network as I.J.M. can make use of. And neither, perhaps, does it have the commercial nous: amongst its connections, I.J.M. can count a number of "Business As Mission" enterprises which absorb young women into paid employment as part of their conversion, in activities like dress-making, jewellery, and catering—businesses, in other words, " with a kingdom perspective."

Connecting the Gospel to Commerce, of course, is a basic tenet of evangelization. And the tourist trade, that epitome of global commerce, is no exception. Northern Thailand has long been seen as a haven of exotica. But the market is changing. Now, the International Justice Mission, and the people it "rescues", as well as the hostels it supplies, have become landmarks along the trail for a new and rapidly expanding form of the business. Over the past decade, scores of evangelical agencies have sprung up to cater for the burgeoning Christian youth market, offering friendship, entertainment, and adventure to armies of youngsters keen on taking a break from school or college—and serving Christ in the process.(143)

One such agency is Teen Mania. Teen Mania's motto is 'We Dare to Dream as Big as God Dreams', and it specializes in mobilizing American youth for the cause of a Christian Republic, and for global warfare against the Devil in all his guises—including consumerism, homosexuality, Islam, and animism. The group's "Battle Cry

Campaign" pursues this end through mass rallies with militaristic trappings and a ceremonial "branding by God"of young warriors who take the oath of "an attacking Church" ...

> "This is war!" says the founder, Ron Luce. "... Jesus invites us to get into the action telling us that the violent—the 'forceful' ones—will lay hold of the kingdom."(144)

Teen Mania has already sent 53,000 teenage missionaries overseas on short-term evangelizing trips—mainly through Global Expedition, its overseas outreach arm. It has a strong presence in Latin America, and it is now evangelizing in Southeast Asia. In Thailand it is partnered with numerous locally-based agencies, such as Wycliffe Bible Translators, Gospel for Asia, and International Justice Mission. Its particular concern, in Thailand, is the sex trade—and the planting of churches amongst tribal people. The agency's publicity makes this clear:

> "... Offer beauty for ashes to young girls imprisoned in the brutal sex trade. Invest in eternity by traveling to Thailand this summer, and see the money you raise for missions go to rescuing young girls from slavery. While you're there, meet and disciple the future leaders of Thailand. Though you will not have contact with the slaves, you'll teach English and they'll hear the Gospel that will transform their lives and raise up a generation that could put an end to vile sexual slavery."(145)

Teen Mania recognizes that the root of such evil resides in a hinterland ruled by Satan. And that it is this hinterland which must be transformed:

> "Want the ultimate missions experience this summer? Travel to a remote village deep within the Thai countryside and spend two months planting a new church. You will work alongside local full-time missionaries to plant a church that they will pastor after you

leave. All C-trippers (i.e., the highest-paying) trek further north to the 'Golden Triangle' to minister to the Hill Tribe people and spend an afternoon in Burma and Laos."

But for Teen Mania missionaries, there is, finally, a time to relax:

"Hey, anybody up for an elephant ride? ... You will also have time to shop in the local markets for all the little woodcarvings you could ever want."

At the very least, through its partnership with Teen Mania and other like-minded groups, the International Justice Mission is helping to redefine the tourist trade of Northern Thailand.

Youth with a Mission: The Global Family

Teen Mania, as youth ministries go, is a relatively modest affair. It is also relatively new. Youth with a Mission, by contrast, is one of the largest such ministries in the world—second only to Campus Crusades for Christ. It too cooperates with IJM in northern Thailand; it too seeks to bring Western youth to the four corners of the earth in pursuit of Christ and His Great Commission. And, besides, its sales pitch is remarkably similar to Teen Mania's—only rather more global in sweep. Its Mission Adventure Asia, for example, is aimed at youngsters "who want a life-changing adventure right in the heart of Asia!" ...

"If you want a glimpse into God's heart for Asia, and you want a mission experience that leaves you forever ruined for the ordinary (sic), then Mission Adventure Asia is for you! In 17 days, be mentored for missions within the Asian context; be equipped to hear God's voice and go on an outreach where you get to see, hear, smell, taste, and touch Asia like never before! Feed the poor in India; care for an orphan in Thailand; touch the life of a street kid

> in Indonesia; share the love of God with a Tibetan in China; pray for the healing of war-torn nations like Cambodia and Vietnam. Come, taste, and see the beauty and vibrancy of Asia—a region where two-thirds of the world's population lives in darkness and waits for hope—and share in God's dream to see Asia transformed by the love of Christ."

Youth with A Mission (or YWAM) is one of the largest mission agencies in Thailand. It has over 150 full-time foreign workers and more than 85 full-time Thai workers, and it operates in over 14 locations from the northern hills to the tourist centre of Pattaya in the south—including two refugee camps, eight children's hostels, a hostel for ex-prostitutes in Pattaya, and a students' ministry. This high profile is not exceptional: Thailand is one of the more welcoming of Asian countries for Western missionaries, and a good many other U.S. agencies maintain a relatively large presence in the country—New Tribes Mission, for example, with almost 100 missionaries, Campus Crusades with around 80, Assemblies of God (53), WEC (51), and so on. Altogether, there are over 700 missionaries in Thailand, two-thirds of whom are white Westerners.

Youth with a Mission is not just big in Thailand. Since 1970, it has been especially influential in Christianizing Thailand's neighbours, especially through its control of refugee populations: thus, in 1995, it could claim that some 52 churches within Cambodia were the direct result of evangelizing in one of Thailand's refugee camps It is also a potent force (through work with refugees, as well as through subversion) in Myanmar, Laos, and Vietnam, as well as in Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Malaysia. In fact, it is one of the three biggest evangelical missions in the world, after World Vision and Campus Crusade. It has 17,000 full-time workers, and over 20,000 short-term missionaries, operating from 800 bases in 171 countries. The group describes itself as a "global family of ministries", without an "international headquarters" and with considerable autonomy given to national branches. But it maintains a strong ideological coherence,

and a strategic sense of purpose, through its Global Leadership Team, its political connections, and its electronic networks. The strength of YWAM as a "global family" lies in its own unity of evangelical purpose, and the common cause it shares with the wider U.S. evangelical movement. In its own words, it is "a multicultural mission discipling believers to disciple nations"—training and sending leaders, teachers, and church planters to influence all areas of society with the gospel. It is a brief that YWAM follows in strictly dominionist terms, working closely with other agencies in the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement, and sharing both personnel and resources—George Otis of the Sentinel Group, for example, is a member of the YWAM leadership, as well as being part of AD2000 and Beyond and the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization.

The agency began life in 1960, in an arrangement that also saw the creation of its fellow-agency, Teen Challenge.(146) Four years earlier, Loren Cunningham had been with an Assembly of God gospel group, touring the Bahamas. He had a dream. As he looked up from his prayers he saw waves washing against a map of the world. The waves turned into young people, spreading across continents, sharing the gospel. It was a dream that changed Loren's life—his God-given task, from then on, was to harness America's youth to the job of evangelizing the world. This, at least, was Loren's version of events.

Fifty Years of Youth with a Mission

1956	Loren Cunningham's Defining Vision
1960	Y.W.A.M. founded
1966	Teams in W.Indies, Samoa, Hawaii, NZ, Tonga, Mexico, C. America
1969	First School of Evangelism, Lausanne.
1968-75	Jesus Movement
1972	Munich Olympics Outreach

1974	School of Evangelism established in New Jersey
1977	Pacific and Asian Christian University founded in Kona
1978	Kings' Kids Ministry created
1980s	Meeting of International Leadership, Thailand (1980) followed by several international strategy meetings, Manila Covenant agreed, Core Values defined, church planting adopted as goal.
1980	"InterAmerican Relations, Shield of the New Age, etc..."(the Santa Fe Report); the Sanborns arrive in Thailand; Ron Boehme opens his House on C Street.
1981	Thailand/Cambodia Refugee Ministry begins
1982	First "Mercy Ship", Anastasis, launched; Guatemala coup
1985	Floyd McClung succeeds Cunningham as internat. director.
1987	Renamo "kidnaps" six YWAM missionaries
1989	PACU renamed University of the Nations, co-founder Howard Malmstadt
1990	Ship ministry (Marine Reach) founded in NZ. International Reconciliation Coalition founded.
1991	Red Sea Covenant – YWAM "foundational document"; Cunningham visits Pitcairn Island, last of 229 countries with a YWAM ministry.
1992	Thirty Day Muslim Prayer Focus started.
1994	Revive America Project launched.
1995	Jim Stier President of Global Leadership Team (new name for international leadership). New goal stated: adopt 1,000 "unreached people groups" by 2000, for prayer, research, and ministry. First meeting ofWorld Christian Gathering of Indigenous Peoples (WCGIP), NZ. June,1995—last Cambodian refugees leave Thailand camp.
1996	First meeting of World Congress of Indigenous

	Peoples (Rotorua).
2000	Fortieth anniversary celeb, Mangere NZ (Samoan first non-Western President)
2001	John Dawson new Global Leadership Team head.
2003	Mercy Ships become separate ministry
2006	"Path to 9/11" made by David Cunningham; 4K Initiative launched
2008	Paradise Gathering, Texas.

Ostensibly, YWAM's organization incorporates three main functions: training and education, "mercy ministry", and evangelism and frontier mission. Such broad terms, however, cannot possibly describe the varied and extremely complex scope of YWAM's operations, as we shall see.

Conventionally, a YWAM base offers two key courses for its members: the Discipleship Training School, and the School of Evangelism. The DTS is the most popular course, involves a two semester "lecture and outreach" programme lasting nine months, and is a prerequisite for all other YWAM training. The main emphasis, at this stage, is the Christian grooming of the individual, and students are given courses on such topics as "healthy interpersonal relationships", "intimacy with Christ", "the meaning of worship", "the life of a disciple", and "discovering your calling and purpose." The School of Evangelism follows, with courses on the methodology of mission —the "discipleship of nations", for example, the transformation of culture, principles of leadership, and use of "spiritual gifts". Again, the course includes both a residential lecture period and a period of "outreach" during which a student is posted as an "intern" to an agency in the field.

Having completed the basic courses, a YWAM member can proceed to a number of more specialized "schools"—such as the School of Biblical Studies, the Bible Training and Preaching School,

or the School of Frontier Missions. The Bible Training and Preaching School, whose syllabus is based upon the USCWM "Perspectives on World Mission" programme, takes students who have completed a full year of Biblical Studies. It is usually bi-lingual, and last for six months—with a three month lecture period, two months outreach, and a month's church placement. But of all YWAM's courses, it is the School of Frontier Missions which is most carefully tailored for the demands of "foreign outreach".

The School of Frontier Missions is a year-long training programme in language, basic anthropology, survival techniques, and preaching - comprising a 12 week lecture period, and a nine months "internship" serving in a non-Western mission field base. It is advertised as "a worthwhile investment in cross-cultural training for ministry among the world's unreached peoples", and its course titles give some indication of the emphasis:

Language
Evangelism and Discipleship, Servant Leadership
Church Planting
Cultural Anthropology
World Religions
Community development, support team building
Principles and processes of starting a long-term mission
Avoiding "burn-out"
Interpersonal relationships
Conflict resolution
Communication, Leadership aptitude
Prayer and intercession in mission
Urban Mission
Knowing God and making Him known.

The School of Frontier Missions also offers "Mission Awareness" programmes such as the one-semester long "Joshua 2000" course, which comprises two parts:

(a) A lecture course:
Biblical basis for missions;
Mission history in Asia;
Spiritual mapping and intercessory prayer;
Strategy for Asian evangelism;
Frontiers church planting;
Cross-cultural communication;
and Developing a Prayer profile.

(b) Training in profiling an unreached people group:
" spiritually mapping them, conducting a prayer walk, conducting a cultural interview, and creating a prayer profile for Joshua 2000 ... with a 10-14 day outreach—talking to unreached people, prayer walking the streets of the group, staying 2-3 days in an unreached people's home."

Finally, YWAM offers students a range of degree level specializations at the University of the Nations in Kona, Hawaii—chief among these being Teacher Training, Associate of Arts in Biblical Studies, and Associate of Arts in Missions. By this stage, there is also an opportunity to develop a range of professional skills useful in evangelization, such as drama, audio-visual techniques, and village water supply. In fact, one of the avowed aims of the University of the Nations is to expose Christian liberal studies students to "hard science"—a focus which reflects the predilections of one of the university's two founders, Howard Malmstadt. Malmstadt, regarded as one of the "fathers of modern electronic analytical instrumentation" had worked at the University of Illinois—on such things as the miniaturization of chemical measurement technology—before he resigned in 1978 to co-found YWAM's university with Loren Cunningham.(147)

The broad framework of training just described, in reality, has considerable diversity and flexibility. Within YWAM's "global family" of ministries, there are many variations, often to suit local needs, sometimes to focus a global effort. Thus, YWAM Thailand runs a seven-months-long DTS in Karenni, and a School of Frontier Media (SFM-Create) specializing in "unreached peoples communication". YWAM Minneapolis, on the other hand, runs a programme with rather more global significance.

The Minneapolis "Center for Latino Mobilization" is being established to recruit, train, and mobilize Latino workers for the Islamic world, within the framework of the base's DTS and School of Evangelism. The programme, begun in 2007, involves a bi-lingual DTS, with proficiency in ESL, and an Islamic Studies specialization at School of Evangelism level, including Arabic, as well as technical skills like hydroponics—and an outreach segment based upon visits to Islamic countries with "mobile Discipleship Training Schools". It is not only Latinos, of course, who make good proxies for white Western evangelists amongst Muslims. Throughout Asia, YWAM is training "native missionaries" for the task of penetrating the Muslim heartlands. Landa Cope, the founder of The Template Institute (and founding International Dean of the College of Communications at YWAM's University of the Nations) was expressing more than a pious hope when she foresaw "a vibrant wave of evangelism from Malaysia, China, and Korea flow over the Middle East."

Evangelization of Muslims is the main focus, or an important sub-text, for many of YWAM's ministries, and YWAM has been one of the pioneers of "contextualizing" such mission. In mission theory, "contextualization" of Muslim evangelization accounts for six levels of activity—from simple conversations with individuals (C1) to establishment of "messianic mosques" and communities of secret Christians (C6). Youth With A Mission operates at all levels. The work of its International Reconciliation Coalition is an example of activity at the lower end of this scale.

Begun in 1990, the International Reconciliation Coalition organizes "prayer journeys" to regions marked by some kind of disaffection with, or within, the Christian Church—using intercession and "identificational repentance" to soften negative images, disarm suspicions, and make converts. The Coalition has some 42 "major initiatives" underway, including prayer journeys to the slave ports of West Africa, to sites of abuses against Native Americans, and along the route taken by Christian crusaders during the First Crusade.(148) The activity is not quite as benign as it seems to be, however. In the words of the director of YWAM's international communications office, Paul Filidis, the agency is committed to using "any opportunity", "legitimate entry point" or "tunneling" technique to place missionaries in situations where they will become trusted friends of Muslims. The Crusades Prayer Journey, through regions either largely Muslim or with Muslim minority populations, is such a situation—as are the Hindu pilgrimages to holy sites, which YWAM workers accompany in order to "explain the Gospel to the pilgrims, in a totally contextualized way."

In 1992, YWAM launched another initiative in its efforts to evangelize Muslims—the Thirty Day Muslim Prayer Focus, which uses the period of Ramadan to concentrate Christian minds on the complexities of the task. Presented as an exercise in loving prayer, much like the I.R.C.'s "prayer journeys", the Ramadan Prayer Focus was in fact a concerted attempt to refine and coordinate strategy, bringing together many of the biggest names in Western evangelicalism. The Board of Reference for the operation contained the following members: Brother Andrew (founder of Open Doors), Bill Bright (founder of Campus Crusades), Luis Bush (10/40 Window), Joy Dawson (YWAM), Dick Eastman (Every Home for Christ), Wendell Evans (Arab World Ministries), Floyd McClung (Metro Christian Fellowship), Ronald Peck (Center for Ministry to Muslims), John Reid (Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization), C.Peter Wagner (Global Harvest), and Thomas Wang (AD2000 & Beyond). The Prayer Focus, although ostensibly a YWAM initiative, was in

reality just one of the multitude of gambits in the wider evangelical push into the "Two-Thirds World", defined more generally in such things as the Kaleidoscopic Global Action Plan three years earlier.

At the higher end of the "contextualization" scale, too, YWAM has been a pioneer in the evangelization of Muslims. It was an early promoter of the idea of allowing "messianic Muslims", once converted, to hold on to many of their traditional religious beliefs and practices "so as to refrain from offending others within their culture". Such converts, YWAM suggested, could "continue a life of following the Islamic requirements, including mosque attendance, fasting, and Koranic reading, besides getting together as a fellowship of Muslims who acknowledge Christ as the source of God's mercy for them ...."(149)

However, YWAM's most earnest efforts in the field of Muslim evangelization are "unattributable"—they are, in fact, made by subsidiaries set up for the purpose. As with numerous other operations—some controversial, some not—YWAM's true involvement is concealed by its "family" structure. Youth With A Mission, in other words, is largely a front organization. The following table indicates the true scope of YWAM's global role:

The Youth With A Mission Family

Across Pacific and Asia
Across Ministries (NZ)
Aloha Ke Akua Ministries
Business As Mission
Center For Latino Mobilization (Minneapolis)
Cleansing Stream (via Joy Dawson, mother of YWAM leader)
Create International ("frontier-focused media ministry")
Crown Ministries (educational resources, speakers)
Education for West Africa
Frontline Communications

GENESIS (Global Electronic Network Serving and Inspiring)
GoSahara
Impact Teams International (Impact Kids)
International Reconciliation Coalition
Jeunesse et Mission.en Development (African development agency)
King's Kids (also Kids of the King Arise!)
Lydia Fellowship (Christian women's prayer network, co-founded by Joy Dawson)
Marine Reach (Ship ministry, based in NZ)
Megacities
Mercy Corps (now separate, founded by YWAM's Dan O'Neill)
MercyWorks
Mission Builders International (connects short term missionaries)
Procla-Media (video ministry, media consultancy)
The Film Institute
The Template Institute (connects YWAM with Christian professionals)
Tribal Winds (Native American ministry)
University of the Nations
US Renewal Ministries (includes Revive America Project)
Wolof Connection (coalition of agencies evangelizing the Wolof of West Africa)
Window Ministries.

There are at least six YWAM ministries operating in Muslim countries, under other names, and engaged in "sensitive frontline activities". Window Ministries, for example, "is headquartered in a major city in the Middle East", and "is committed to see the transformation of Muslim communities in the 10:40 Window with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Our goal is to recruit, train, and release teams of long-term workers who will either pioneer or join existing ministries in the 100 urban centers of the Middle East and North Africa." Window Ministries' main objective is the conversion of

Muslims and the planting of churches in Muslim areas, using the avenues of work with children, relief work ("mercy ministry"), and sports promotion.

But of course, the evangelical onslaught on the non-Western world—whether Muslim or non-Muslim—is not just religious. It is just a part of a much broader attack against anything that might stand in the way of Westernization, or more properly Americanization. And the promotion of American Christianity, in itself, is in any case really the promotion of a larger culture, with all its moral, political, and economic trappings. In this war, the secular and the religious are indivisible: "The pressure of capitalism and economic development," claims Landa Cope of The Template Institute, "is dealing a deathblow to Islamic fundamentalism, marginalizing the extreme by increasing the quality of life." YWAM's part in the campaign is both complex and varied, and extends far beyond the mere planting of churches—or, for that matter, the promotion of "business as mission".

The Strange Case of Govindini, Cyrus, and the Two Davids

David Cunningham is the son of Loren Cunningham. He was educated at the University of the Nations, where he qualified in the business of evangelical film-making. One of his earliest films was a video record of his father's visit to Pitcairn Island in 1991, to celebrate the addition of the territory to YWAM's portfolio of ministered "countries". He went on to direct a number of films with a strong Christian message, such as "Little House on the Prairie", "To End All Wars", and "Beyond Paradise", a teen film set in Hawaii. He also directed "The Seeker", based on Susan Cooper's fantasy novel "The Dark is Rising". Cunningham's work found particular appeal with Philip Anschutz, oil magnate and conservative Christian owner of the largest cinema chain in the U.S., Regal Entertainments.

David Cunningham is also head of The Film Institute. According to YWAM publicity, The Film Institute (or TFI) was set up in 2004 as "an auxiliary organization of the University of the Nations, a non-profit entity designed to facilitate and launch U.of N. students into the film and TV industry" through internships, apprenticeships, and scholarships. It would also produce "culturally relevant film that will cause awareness and resources for current issues." The Film Institute is just one aspect of YWAM's commitment to audio-visual evangelism, or Avangelism—the University of Nations also has a School of Digital Film-making and a School of Digital Communications, as well as a foundation course at DTS level with a broadcasting/cinema focus.

In 2005, David Cunningham's TFI got its biggest contract. The Walt Disney/ABC network commissioned the company to produce a film about events leading up to the 9/11 attacks on New York and the Pentagon. The mini-series, allegedly based on the Report of the 9/11 Commission, cost $40 million to make, and was written by an Iranian-American scriptwriter called Cyrus Nowrasteh. Like Cunningham, Nowrasteh had a fairly modest portfolio of works to his credit. But he had some influential connections.

Above all, he knew Govindini Murty and Jason Apuzzo. Govindini, the daughter of an Indian diplomat and a Canadian anthropologist, was a commentator on media affairs and a one-time actress who—with her mother—had spent a year in Sarawak living in the Borneo rainforest. In 2004, she and Jason had founded the Liberty Film Festival—with backing from Paul Harberger's Foundation for Free Markets and David Horowitz' Freedom Center—to showcase the work of film-makers with a radical rightwing or evangelical perspective. Unsurprisingly, but well before Cunningham's film was released, Murty had begun to promote it enthusiastically.

From the start, there was controversy about the film's provenance. News about its production first appeared on the Internet, where it was referred to simply as "Untitled History Project" (or "UHP"), an

undertaking of UHP Productions. "UHP Productions", it turned out, was based in an office of the Walt Disney Corporation in Burbank, California. It was then noted that there was a strong connection between the owners of Disney Corporation and the owners of Yum! Brands (formerly Pepsico), and that a Pepsico executive, Governor Thomas Kean, happened to be Chairman of the 9/11 Commission. David Cunningham, it appeared, had some powerful sponsors. References were made to the project on YWAM members' websites: "TFI's first project," said one, "is a doozy .... It is already being called the television event of the decade and not one second has been put to film yet." Although such references, linking YWAM with TFI's mysterious project, were soon deleted from the Internet—not before they were retrieved as a cache, however, to appear soon after on the Yurica Report website.

When the mini-series eventually surfaced, under the title "The Path to 9/11", it quickly became a subject of some controversy. Welcomed by the Republican rightwing, it was criticized by Democrats as a partisan attack on the Clinton Administration's "lack of preparedness", and as a cynical conflation of fiction and part-facts—a verdict which the star of the film, Harvey Keitel, was forced to agree with. And it gradually emerged that the entire project had been concocted by a coalition of rightwingers, based around David Horowitz, to support the Bush White House and press for a more aggressive foreign policy. And moreover, it was a project clearly serving a much wider agenda.

For decades, the Republican Right had sought to tie U.S. politics more closely to its viewpoint. It had had some considerable success, but many held that the mood of the establishment was still far too liberal. One of the main targets was Hollywood. Wealthy businessmen such as the Coors, the Hunts, Philip Anschutz and Richard Mellon Scaife poured millions into pressure groups geared to giving the media an even more conservative voice than it already had. By the 1990s, a network of such groups had emerged, with members from the Jewish,

Protestant, and Catholic right: especially strident voices included those of Joel Surnow, Andrew Klavan, Michael Medved, Dennis Prager ... and David Horowitz.

Horowitz had had an interesting career. During the sixties, like many ultra-conservatives, he had been a left-wing radical. He was especially exercised by the tyranny of U.S. imperialism—something which the titles of his early books makes very clear: "Empire and Revolution", "Corporations and the Cold War", "Sinews of Empire" being examples .... By the 1980s, however, Horowitz had shed his Marxism and had moved into close agreement with the Central Intelligence Agency. With the support of men like Richard Mellon Scaife, he founded the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, which in time became the David Horowitz Freedom Center, and through this worked to establish a much stronger conservative presence in the media, especially the film industry. One by-product of such penetration was the involvement of YWAM, through its TFI subsidiary, in the production of "The Path to 9/11".

YWAM's participation was hardly coincidental. The Film Institute, after all, was dedicated to "a Godly transformation and revolution, TO and THROUGH the Film and Television Industry ... TO it, by serving, living humbly with integrity in what is often a world driven by selfish ambition, power, and money, and transforming lives from within; and THROUGH it, by creating relevant and evocative content which promotes Godly principles of Truth married with Love." One way of achieving this, according to YWAM's Mark Harris, was "to fast-track UofN School of Digital Film interns, placing them within the film industry, not to give them jobs, but so that they can begin to impact and transform Hollywood from the inside out."

"The Path To 9/11" was a project in which many could find common cause. Republican politicians, media commentators, conservative philanthropists, evangelical Christians, and Jewish and Christian Zionists, could all identify with the message. It was, without

doubt, a propaganda exercise: ABC Network ran the series without advertizing, and distributed the video free to 100,000 "educators"—including media personalities like Rush Limbaugh. As a television event, perhaps, its success was indifferent; as an insight into media politics, however, David Cunningham"s "Path to 9/11" was rather more interesting. At the very least, it suggested that there was rather more to Youth With A Mission than merely spreading the Christian gospel.(150)

The House on Capitol Hill

Ron Boehme is an ordained minister of the church. He is on the National Prayer Committee, and is particularly active in the leadership of Pastors' Prayer Coalitions in the Washington D.C. area. For some years, he was also on the national steering committee of the Coalition on Revival, one of the main vehicles for connecting the Republican Party with the Christian Right. He served the "Reagan Revolution" in Washington during the years from 1979 to 1986, and has written prolifically about the importance of strong Christian values in United States politics: apart from the seminal work "Leadership in the Twenty-first Century: Changing Nations Through the Power of Serving", Ron has also written "Restoring America's Conscience" and "Why is God Being Merciful to America?" In 2006, Ron Boehme stood for election in Washington's 26th Legislative District—a district with a strong military presence, especially in the two towns of Bremerton and Port Orchard. His campaign leaflet promised "A Proven Leader Who Will Restore the Dream." He lost, 44% to 56%, to Larry Seaquist, a retired naval man whose own campaign put great stress on the claim that Ron Boehme was one of the most right-wing candidates the 26th District had ever been offered.

In one respect, however, Ron Boehme is a little like Art Sanborn, who worked for years in Chiang Mai, Thailand. For Ron Boehme is not just a long-time member of YWAM, he is one of its true pioneers.

After training at the Pacific Lutheran University, Ron joined YWAM in 1974, and thereafter spent much of his time developing the mission's presence in the northeastern United States. More than anyone else, perhaps, Ron Boehme brought Youth With a Mission, both physically and spiritually, into the very heart of American politics—establishing key YWAM bases in Port Orchard (Washington State), on C Street, Washington DC, at Discovery Bay (Port Townsend), and in Arlington, West Virginia. Within YWAM, Ron was also a prime mover of US Renewal Ministries, becoming their president and director, and the inspiration behind the Revive America Project, which began in 1994 with the mission of encouraging "personal, corporate, and national revival in the United States and around the world through servant leadership and vision."

Ron Boehme believes in the Bible above all. It is a belief which rests at the core of the Revive America Project, defined by its founders as:

> "REVIVE ... To bring back to life or health
> AMERICA ... The world's greatest nation
> PROJECT ... A large or major undertaking."

Ron stressed the biblical foundations of his belief when he introduced the International Bible Reading Association's "Bible Reading Marathon" in 2006:

> "While working here on Capitol Hill, I saw how our nation was eroding because we had lost the foundation upon which to build culture, families, healthy relationships. The Bible is the key. That's why we need to get the entire nation reading the Bible."

Ron Boehme, in his own words, has "devoted his life to championing the needs of youth". Youth With a Mission, the "global family of ministries", has been an ideal vehicle for this, both within the United States and overseas. Boehme is the inspiration behind the

Samaritan Strategy for Africa, with its "Hope For Africa" manifesto, and its focus on young people in Gambia and Senegal through the agency Education for West Africa. He is a player, too, in the evangelization of the youth of China and Mongolia, through – among other things—the outreach activities of YWAM's base at Discovery Bay (of which he is director).

YWAM, like Campus Crusades, has always been excited by the opportunities for evangelizing offered by great sporting events like the Olympics. The mission was well in evidence in 1972 during the Munich Olympics. But in 2008, the Beijing Olympics offered an opportunity of an altogether different magnitude. Here, after all, was the largest nation on earth, still officially Communist, with more than half of all the "unreached peoples" in the world. To minister, however briefly, to these "unreached" souls, YWAM alone would send hundreds of "Gateway to China" teams to the Middle Kingdom, and to Mongolia ("the land of Genghis Khan"). The team from Discovery gay began with a three-day "boot camp", went on to a "Gateway Camp" in Hong Kong for three days, did five days' "outreach" in China, followed by ten days' outreach in Mongolia. As with all such outings, the benefits were finely balanced between impressing foreign youngsters and firing the zeal of the young crusaders themselves. (151)

For YWAM, the gathering of the nations in Beijing presented an opportunity of huge symbolic importance. Another gathering, two months earlier, provided unmistakable context—at least for all the young Americans involved. On May 25th, 2008, US Renewal Ministries co-sponsored PARADISE 08, on a field in Paradise, Kansas. The field, one mile in radius, and with the foundation of a throne in the centre, lay at "the geodetic center of the United States" and would be the site for "a powerful day of undistracted, united worship of King Jesus", by "myriads of young people." PARADISE 08, according to its Mission Statement, was

"... a journey to awaken students from every part of the body of Christ to the supremacy of God's son, to call them to adore Him as King, and to inspire them to arise to bravely join Him in accelerating His Kingdom purposes for this generation, converging in a national worship gathering ... at the geographic center of the nation."

The event would, according to US Revival Ministries, be

"... a very unusual youth event—one that may be larger than Woodstock, and have ramifications that could shake up the status quo in the United States.
... Young people are the key to the future of America. Maybe it's time that they got together in Paradise."(152)

Ron Boehme's analysis of the crisis facing modern youth is a straightforward one: "Satan controls the big cities, and we, as a nation, are becoming more and more urbanized. He also controls the public schools—so his recruits will increase each year." To many—evangelicals among them—such views are a little too simplistic.

"(Boehme) believes that God is a God of war enlisting him in battles against atheists and evil forces," writes Ed Knudson, a pastor in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. "Boehme promotes 'culture wars'.

This means there are only two sides to any question – the righteous warrior for God on one side and enemies on the other ... Boehme even looks forward to a final holy war which will destroy the earth, and believes that such a war is approaching in international affairs."

(Public Theology, Oct. 9, 2006)

For Boehme, Christian America faces two great evils: secularism and Islam. If the target of secularism is America's youth, the crucial target for militant Islam is Israel. The sanctity of Israel, says Boehme,

is non-negotiable: to defend it, America "must brace (itself) for a full-scale war with militant Islam.... We need to have the will to fight this war on a global scale and win it for the sake of freedom and justice." Thus, Israel must be properly armed, America must shift its energy base away from fossil fuels (thus denying "the Muslim nations" the funds for "expanding their revolution"), and the Christian West must overcome and destroy a "brazenly militant" Islam. (153)

Ron Boehme, of course, is not an eccentric. Indeed, he echoes much that is mainstream evangelical thinking, both within YWAM and beyond it. Moreover, Ron Boehme's ideas are ideas which sit comfortably at the very heart of the US political establishment. It is a shared vision that Ron Boehme, and YWAM, have helped fix in stone.

In 1978, in Arlington, Va., a property known as "The Cedars" was purchased by a group of Washington politicians, with considerable help from a number of businessmen—including Tom Philipps of arms manufacturer Raytheon, Ken Olsen of Digital Equipment Corporation, and Sanford McDonnell of McDonnell Douglas Corporation. The property was to be a kind of unofficial headquarters, part hostel, part conference centre, for the group. Soon afterwards, in 1980, a property on C Street, in Washington, was opened for a similar purpose, and for the same group of politicians. In both arrangements, Ron Boehme was a key "fixer". The hostel on Capitol Hill, he says proudly, "continues to this day and houses two percent of the United States Congress."(154)

The group that Ron Boehme was working for is variously known as "The Family" or "The Fellowship". Until 1972, it was known as International Christian Leadership—a name its founder, Abraham Vereide, had given it in 1944. Vereide had created the group in the thirties as an anti-socialist fellowship of Republican (and to a lesser extent Democrat) politicians and sympathetic Christian

leaders, and it had quickly evolved into a powerful and secretive pressure group, deeply embedded in the fabric of the White House, the Administration, and the US Congress, and with equally strong roots in big business, the military, and the evangelical movement. Its influence in shaping public policy over the years has been enormous, and yet its operations and its membership are kept well away from the public gaze. Bipartisan, and deeply conservative, it is committed to waging war—both spiritually and, if need be, literally —in support of "biblical capitalism" and a Christian republic. The group's ultimate goal is "a government built by God", but its prime concern is the more pragmatic cultivation and expansion of political power—the grooming of leadership—towards that end.(155)

In this and many other respects, The Fellowship has a lot in common with Boehme's Youth With a Mission. Both have strong roots in the ideas of Frank Buchman and Moral Rearmament. Both share the ultimate objectives of a Christian republic fired by laissez-faire capitalism, and eventual Christian dominion over the world as a whole. Both see virtue in a global organization with an "invisible leadership" and a cellular structure that encompasses a diversity of functions, has mobility, is unaccountable, hard to identify, and can shift funds around fairly easily. (YWAM, for a long time, resisted becoming a member of the Evangelical Board of Financial Accountability.) Both draw inspiration from the "shepherding and discipling movement" in the way that authority is exerted and members are controlled—in particular, both maintain a "pyramid" form of authoritarianism that binds together a large number of cells in a highly centralized organization. Both seek dialogue with the enemy as a tactical cover for sustained and carefully targeted subversion. And both hold remarkably similar views on the role of organized youth in political change.

The Fellowship's "Youth Corps", certainly, could be a replica of Youth With A Mission. The "Youth Corps Vision", according to an internal Fellowship statement,

"... is to mobilize thousands of young people world wide—committed to principle, precepts, and person of Jesus Christ... a group of highly dedicated individuals who are united together, having a total commitment to use their lives to daily seek to mature into people who talk like Jesus, act like Jesus, think like Jesus. This group will have the responsibility to:

—see that the commitment and action is maintained to the overall vision;

—see that the finest and best invisible organization is developed and maintained at all levels of the work;

—even though the structure is hidden, see that the family atmosphere is maintained, so that all people can feel part of the family."(156)

Taken in isolation, of course, such a vision might seem on the kindly side of idealistic. This, however, is the vision of men in charge of the strongest military power on earth, men who run the greatest industrial empire the world has known. It is a vision encapsulated in a comment made by David Coe—son and deputy of Douglas Coe, Vereide's successor as leader of The Fellowship—to the residents of The Cedars in Arlington:

"You guys are here to learn how to rule the world."

It only goes to show that there is really very little distance between Eden House in northern Thailand, and Ron Boehme's house on Capitol Hill.

Chapter Seven

INDONESIA: MISSIONS, MINES AND MUSLIMS

A Little Church in Maryland

FORCEY Memorial Church is a Baptist church in Wheaton, Maryland. Wheaton, a modern and relatively prosperous suburb, grew up around the Naval Surface Weapons Center, which was established in 1948 just a few blocks down the road from the church. It is an ethnically mixed neighbourhood—40% of the population is white, 26% Hispanic/Latino, 19% Black, and 12% Asian—and its middle class character is underlined by a median house value of $343,000 (above the Maryland average), and a median family income of $62,000(also above the state average). The district's income per capita, in 2005, was around $24,000.

Inevitably, Forcey Memorial Church addresses ordinary middle class needs. It offers a Bible-based weight loss plan, and a Financial Peace University program which provides 13 weeks of learning about relationships, debt, stewardship, saving, and investment, with courses for Super Savers and Cash Flow Planning. The course is advertised as "a bunch of fun".(157)

Indeed, activities at Forcey are designed to be both cooperative and enjoyable. There are Women's Retreats, Men's Retreats, Teen

Retreats; annual Craft Shows, Bake Sales, Pot Luck Lunches, and the Annual Fall Fundraiser—which, in 2007, raised some $8,000 for the church and its two schools. But whatever the fun, the objective of worship is both singleminded and serious.

Like most US churches, Forcey Memorial Church has an outlook which is both strongly patriotic and militaristic. On Independence Day, children are urged to wear red, white, and blue, and at the All Men Cook-Out (run by the church's "Band of Brothers") their fathers will listen to talks on topics such as "Combat For Christ: Making Disciple-makers" by Navy fighter pilot Capt Eric Tibbets. Youngsters, in particular, are drawn gently into the world of the military at an early age, when they join the local Battalion of the Christian Service Brigade—a youth corps designed to prepare boys to serve as spiritual and practical "soldiers of Christ", ready to lead and ready to "disciple the nations." A boy will join the CSB as a "Tadpole" at the age of four, and at eight years old progress through three years of the "Stockade" course – during which the men, as Stockade leaders, and with ample help from outdoor activities, will guide them "to the Lord, to the Word of God, to Christian maturity, and to the local church". Then, at 12, a boy is ready to join the "Battalion". Here, obedience to Christ is instilled through a structure geared to teamwork, peer group leadership, and a military hierarchy from Lance Corporal, through Sergeant and Captain, up to Lieutenant. A series of starred awards are given for achievement, up to "Super Achiever" and culminating in the award of "Herald of Christ", which qualifies a boy for an intensive nine-month period of "service and study" in Christian Leadership.

Such leadership training is perhaps the main function of the Christian Service Brigade, whose motto is "Iron Sharpens Iron." But Forcey Memorial Church's Battalion 555 also serves as an agent for fund-raising, both for general church expenses and for the church's missionary fund. Forcey supports some 18 overseas missionaries, with an annual contribution of about $20,000, and a portion of this comes from the Brigade's required monthly mission donations.

Like most Baptist churches in the US, Forcey is an evangelical church. It maintains ties with a number of conservative evangelical groups, such as Franklin Graham's Graham Association, Prison Fellowship Mission, Jews For Jesus, Evangelism Explosion, and Campus Crusade for Christ. And like all US evangelical churches, Forcey is especially focused on the threat of Islam: "With the fall of Communism," its newsletter observes, "the Muslim world is the strongest bastion that the church must overcome in taking the gospel to the ends of the earth."(158) Four of the church's 18 foreign missionaries are in Muslim (or largely Muslim) countries—Burkina Faso, Morocco, "the Middle East", and Indonesia. In Indonesia, Forcey's funds go to Henry Lantang and his wife Jeanne.

Henry Lantang trained at the Dallas Theological Seminary. He is the Indonesian representative of a number of Baptist mission agencies, including Independent Gospel Missions and World Help. He also runs the Immanuel Home for Children in Jakarta. In 1991, Henry Lantang founded the Manado Bible Institute, which to date has trained 500 pastors and led to the planting of 250 churches around Indonesia—and which has just opened a branch school in Bali. Lantang is an enthusiastic preacher: in the past year alone he has held crusades in West Kalimantan, West Irian, and Java, as well as ministering in the refugee camps caused by the conflict in Maluku and Sulawesi. Lantang's son, Roy, has followed in his father's footsteps: a US citizen, Roy is a graduate of the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago and Jerry Falwell's Liberty University, and has spent much of his time, since 2005, evangelizing in Aceh. Like his father, Roy Lantang works for World Help.

Tsunami: A Gift From God

When the tsunami hit Aceh, the day after Christmas in 2004, about 200,000 people lost their lives, and some 35,000 children were made homeless, orphaned, or separated from their parents. At the

same time, a window of opportunity suddenly appeared. In the following months, hundreds of evangelical Christian agencies hurried into a region which, hitherto, had been off limits. For Aceh, with a population 98% Muslim, was one of the few provinces in Indonesia which, for historical reasons, had a semblance of Islamic (if not political) autonomy—and which therefore could restrict the activities of Christian missionaries.(159)

Since 1980, spurred by the Lausanne process, the evangelical movement had produced hundreds of new mission groups. At the same time, in keeping with its new approach to public relations, and with official encouragement, it had diligently assumed the trappings of a "relief and development" crusade. Natural disasters had always attracted Christian missionaries—now, across a large swathe of the evangelical movement, enthusiasm for such things verged on the ecstatic.(160)

When the tsunami hit Asia, many evangelicals saw it as an event divinely ordained. John Piper, of Desiring God Ministries, observed: "Even if Nature or Satan unleashed the deadly tidal wave, one word from Jesus would have stopped it. He did not speak it. This means there is design in this suffering. And all His designs are just and good." (Florida Baptist Witness, 13.1.05). The head of Gospel for Asia, K.P. Yohannan, said: "This is one of the greatest opportunities God has given us to share His love with people." To Pat Julian, the Southern Baptists' relief coordinator, the tsunami was "a phenomenal opportunity." Similar sentiments were expressed by Focus on the Family, Christian Action Network, Light of Love for Aceh—and by the founder and head of World Help, Vernon Brewer.

Vernon Brewer founded World Help in 1991, since when it has established itself in over 50 countries, including Jordan, Egypt, and Iraq. Iraq is of special concern, says Brewer, for here the "spiritual war ... between Satan and Jesus Christ" is particularly well advanced, and so—using the guise of relief work—the agency distributes Arabic

bibles under its "Bibles for Iraq" programme. To men like Vernon Brewer, Aceh has a similar poignancy: the most strongly Muslim part of "the world's largest Muslim country", Aceh is known to its inhabitants as "the verandah of Mecca". And when the tsunami hit, Brewer responded accordingly. With considerable help from the Lantangs.

As the magnitude of the disaster became apparent, World Help issued an appeal for funds. It described the people of Aceh as "strict Sunni Muslims" who "have been very instrumental in spreading Islam throughout Indonesia and other parts of Southeast Asia." It went on to say that Bandar Aceh "is normally closed to foreigners and closed to the Gospel. But because of this catastrophe, our partners there are earning the right to be heard and providing entrance for the Gospel." World Help, said the appeal, was working with Christian partners who wanted "to plant Christian principles as early as possible" in 300 Muslim children who were to be airlifted to Jakarta. "If we can place them in a Christian children's home, their faith in Christ could become the foothold to reach the Acehnese people."(161)

The scheme was brokered by Roy and Henry Lantang. World Help's appeal gathered $70,000 out of a requested $350,000, and 50 children were flown to Jakarta. But then things started to go wrong. It soon became apparent that the scheme went against a number of government rulings designed to prevent the abuse of child victims of the tsunami—specifically, that children could only leave Aceh in the company of an adult relative, and could only be adopted into homes of a like religion. The programme was abandoned, with World Help and the Lantangs blaming each other for the debacle.

The World Help project was not the only scheme for removing children from Aceh for eventual conversion. Other agencies—such as Light of Love for Aceh—also planned to place children in Christian "orphanages" in other parts of the country, and even send them overseas. But the World Help project did succeed, at the very least, in

highlighting the evangelicals' hidden agenda—and the not-so-subtle interweaving of the interests involved.

Roy Lantang was not the only party to have graduated from Jerry Falwell's Liberty University. Vernon Brewer had too. Indeed, in 1971, Vernon Brewer had been Liberty University's very first graduate, and had gone on to serve as the university's vice-president before founding World Help. And the connection was still strong in 2005—for on January 12th of that year, the Chancellor of Liberty University, Jerry Falwell, announced in an internal e-mail that the university's "Director of International Crusades" would be heading to the tsunami-affected region with relief supplies. In addition to relief, said the e-mail,

> "... we will be presenting the Gospel to tens of thousands of persons through distribution of Gospel tracts written in the native languages of the area. Our ultimate purpose for this first mission is to set the stage for many other missions trips to this Asian region by hundreds of Liberty students in the months to come."(162)

And Falwell was expressing an intention shared by many others.(163) At about the same time, a team of eight health workers, sponsored by the Olive Baptist Church in Pensacola, Florida, traveled to Aceh for 12 days of "fruitful ministry." In the Florida Baptist Witness, Don Buckley described their mission:

> "Some called it the beginning of a 'second tsunami' of Southern Baptist volunteers for the disaster stricken region. Certainly such work would have to be contextualized as the people (of Aceh) live under a belief system where Americans are often perceived as decadent due to the influence of Hollywood and world media.
>
> Pre-evangelistic efforts by team members would be stressed as they attempted to share Christ's love by good deeds first, as an entrée to later present the Good News ... Team leaders saw their task as 'seed-sowing' work that would reap spiritual fruit in future

> days. Their job was to establish meaningful and ongoing relations with the local leaders and their people. Such relationships would build valuable bridges of trust and communication for later teams' efforts. Every effort was made to dispel the stereotype of the 'ugly American' ... The team's prayer is that many other workers will follow them in proclaiming the Good News of the Kingdom to this grief-stricken land." (164)

It was a reasonable hope. At least, it was to America's evangelicals. Disaster, in the realms of Satan, must be a message from God. And God's people had to answer the call.

Mission on the Edge: Saving Maluku

For decades, Aceh has been a focus of U.S. interest because of the Arun natural gas reserves, and the EXXON/Mobil concession which exploits them. The Maluku-Sulawesi region has a far more varied economic significance. Its archipelagaic nature might make access more difficult, but it contains most of Indonesia's nickel reserves, as well as reserves of gold, silver, cement, and timber, and major areas of fruit plantation and spice production. It also has significance as the main concentration of Christian population in Indonesia, outside of Jakarta. This reflects two things in particular: the stronger influence of Melanesian culture, and the specific impact of Dutch colonial policy in the region (especially the use of competing mission groups to administer the Ethical Policy during the early 20th century). Inevitably, such factors also affected the way in which the region was integrated into an independent Indonesia—particularly during the Suharto years, and particularly with regard to the impact upon local affairs of large scale transmigration from Java and Lombok.(165)

In the past 60 years, various conflicts of interest have beset the region. Economic development has been uneven. Some areas, such as Minahasa in North Sulawesi, are commercially more developed

and more urbanized than others—and such areas also tend to have concentrations of Chinese, and of Christian, population. Some areas, too, have been more adversely affected by transmigration than others. And there remains, amongst much of the population, a distrust of central (and largely Java-centric) government, and a distrust of the national army. Since 1945, the threat of separatism in Indonesia has had an enduring association with Maluku, and in particular with its Christian population. In many respects, Maluku is one of the most combustible parts of Indonesia—a status it shares with Aceh, Timor, and Irian Jaya.(166)

In 1998, on a number of islands in Maluku, violence erupted between Christians and Muslims. Over the next two years, some 5,000 people were killed, and around 500,000 were made homeless. A large proportion of the displaced were forced into refugee camps—some Muslim, some Christian, some mixed—in both Maluku and neighbouring Sulawesi. The causes of the conflict were complex, and certainly not wholly—or even largely—to do with religion. As is often the case, though, religion was a convenient proxy for a range of competing interests in the region—cultural and historical, political, and nakedly economic. And, predictably, US evangelicals had a special interest in being involved.

In one way or another, well over a hundred US mission agencies have staked a claim in the region. These include World Vision, Youth With a Mission, FGBMFI, New Tribes Mission, Wycliffe Bible Translators, Missionary Aviation Fellowship, Words of Hope, Door of Hope, International Christian Concern, Voice of the Martyrs, and the Southern Baptist Convention. For decades, missions have worked in Maluku and Sulawesi to convert animists to Christianity, Catholics to Protestantism, nominal Protestants to born-again Protestantism—and, of course, there is the ongoing concern with evangelizing Muslims. In recent years, however, the advance of evangelization as a para-political crusade, and the perceived importance of Indonesia as "the world's largest Muslim country", have combined to give

flashpoints like Maluku an appeal of special piquancy. The Southern Baptists, in particular, have responded with enthusiasm to the call for service in Maluku.(167)

People like Chris Cole, for example. Chris Cole is a pastor from Fountain Valley—a dormitory suburb, some 35 miles out of Los Angeles, with a population 65% white and 25% Asian. His church, the Turning Point Christian Fellowship, is a fundamentalist Baptist church—"founder-friendly", and belonging to the Founders Ministries. Chris Cole spent his childhood in Indonesia and his father, Charles Cole, now heads the Southern Baptist Convention office in Jakarta.

In 2001, Chris Cole led a group of Turning Point Christian Fellowship members to the island of Seram, to help build housing for refugees. The group included a hardware store manager, a construction worker, an operations manager for an industrial supply company, the vice president of an aerospace company, and a nurse. Their main objective was to set an example of Christian concern in a strategic place, and bring as many Muslims to Christ as possible. In the end, however, although the Army forbade them entry to Muslim villages, they were able to conduct their affairs in the only mixed Muslim and Christian refugee camp on the island. Here they set up a small clinic, put up some barracks housing, and showed the "Jesus film" to groups of in-mates in the evenings. They also taught the camp's youngsters how to play American football.

In Jakarta, meanwhile, Charles Cole was active in publicizing the situation his son had gone to address. The Southern Baptists had, for some time, been keen to highlight the involvement of "foreign Muslim agents" in the conflict, while the public position of the US Embassy was one of waiting for "evidence" of such outside interference—something which missionary groups, it was felt, would be well equipped to supply. Atrocity stories involving Christian victims were eagerly collated and circulated through the evangelical

network—especially through such channels as Persecution.org, Voice of the Martyrs, WorldNet Daily, International Christian Concern, Crosstalk, and Salem Voice Ministries—and thence into the wider mass media. Maluku, like Southern Sudan, Iraq, and Afghanistan, was reduced to the formula of "God versus Satan", with Islamic terrorists (in this case a group called Laskar Jihad) in the latter role. And the visit of Chris Cole and his team became part of Southern Baptist mythology.

If the tale itself was a slight one, it had all the right ingredients. Here was a wild and remote area, riven with violence and suffering – and here too were the soldiers of Jesus, healers and good Samaritans, bringing succour in the face of manifest evil. Kids on Mission, part of the SBC's youth ministry, produced a video about it in a series, "for kids aged 5 to 12", on the battle against Islam. At least two of the series were about Maluku. One, "Ambon's Silent Scream", sets the scene:

> "Burnings, beatings, and much worse are happening to Christians on the tiny island of Ambon .... Their deliverance draws nearer as their story is told."

The other, "Making Room For God", tells the story of Chris Cole and his team, and their ministry to Seram:

> " ... Islamic extremism is tearing the islands of Seram and Ambon apart and creating a lot of turmoil for Christians living there. Even so, Southern Baptists continue to go and minister to the people living in this very dangerous place."

The videos are short and to the point. There are glimpses of the victims of violence, tales of horror told to the camera, the team building houses, treating sick villagers, playing team games with the kids. And there is an accompanying lesson, too, to set the images firmly into context for the benefit of the "Kids on Mission".

The lesson is led by Mr Christopher—a bearded, grandfatherly gentleman with a book in his hand. Mr Christopher is talking to a black teenager called Penny, who is wearing earphones and sitting at a computer:

Mr Christopher: Like most of the rest of Indonesia … Ambon and Seram … are dominated by the religion of Islam.

Penny: Yeah, who can forget that after our previous research … 'Dominating' is a mild word, these days, for what Muslims are doing to the people of Ambon and Seram.

Mr Christopher: You're right, Penny. They've been attacking Christian homes, killing and pillaging for years …

Penny: Since 9-11, we now know … here in America … what it is like to be attacked by terrorists that use the religion of Islam as a reason for killing innocent people.

Mr Christopher: … There's the problem. The Islamic militants, in their pride, … have no room for God, because they are so caught up with thoughts of hate and ill will.

Penny: If they only knew that Jesus wants to change their hearts. He wants them to experience His peace … His joy … His love. If they knew him, I'm sure Ambon and Seram would be very different places today.

After showing the film about Chris Cole and his team, Mr Christopher leaves the kids in no doubt that the area they went to, at the very least, has a dangerous reputation:

Mr Christopher: It says here that the indigenous people of Seram … were feared by Europeans because of their fierce nature …. There

> were all sorts of myths and rumors about (them) having mystical powers where they could make themselves invisible. They were said to have roamed the island hunting heads.

Such things, of course, merely whet the young Baptist's appetite for mission. As they grow older, "Kids On Mission" will become "Students On Mission", and they may then go to Ambon or Seram themselves, on "cultural exchange and church planting" excursions, as members of an "Island Rapid Advance Team" to those "tropical paradises off the southeast coast of Sulawesi." In this, they will be "part of a new adventurous program of getting out on the edge—way out." Provided they have a minimum of college freshman education, youngsters may travel to Indonesia on a tourist visa and spend 10 to 30 days in a small team, "trekking through the outer islands of a Muslim country to share their lives in small towns and villages while living with local families".

It is not a job for the timid. Available housing, apparently, is "whatever you can find or build. You're going local!" And strength of character is critical:

> "Are you in Right Relationships?" asks the project brief. "Consistent and vital walk with God—if this ain't settled, don't come! ... Able to develop redemptive relationships with the lost? Are you Ready in Prayer?"

But such trips are more than just adventure, and far more than sharing prayer. The brief goes on to outline the purposes of joining a "Rapid Advance Team" to somewhere like Maluku:

> " (Pray) directly with the lost for their needs—get in their face with His mercy and His love ... let every conversation lead to the Lord...we'll help you with a simple model that addresses their worldview. Are you Reaping Information for further Strategies?

> Ask key questions about their needs. Have a learner's attitude. Journal your findings for follow-up teams and strategies."
>
> (International Mission Board: Students On Mission: Projects... Job # 87802)

For the Southern Baptists, however, such learning would be placed within a context of strictly-defined options. First and foremost, there was the question of "need". The "need" of local people, without question, was primarily spiritual. The cause of the problem, too, was a matter of the spirit. For the violence was divinely ordained. And that this was so was most eloquently expressed by another of the many Baptist visitors to Maluku.

In August, 2000, a team from the Riverside Baptist Church in Denver visited Ambon. Drew Stephens was the church's "media minister". Writing in the Baptist journal "The Commission" in December, Drew Stephens noted that God had intentionally scattered the Ambon Christians, by means of the violence, in order to evangelize other Indonesians:

> "He has chosen," said Stephens, "to move them out of their comfort and displace them so that they might be equipped and sent out to be missionaries to reach the unreached peoples around them."

It was a crisp explanation. But it was a logical one. And it was also an explanation that evangelists—Southern Baptists included—had used before for events in Indonesia.

Managing 'The Great Revival'

Sukarno's downfall was a particularly bloody affair. For many, though, it was an event of great promise. Following the "coup" of September 30th, 1965, the parties that had so precariously co-existed under Sukarno fell upon one another with a vengeance, settling a

number of long-simmering scores. Elements in the Armed Forces, backed by U.S. aid, U.S. intelligence, and U.S.-trained technocrats, and with the help of both Muslim and Christian fighters, managed to orchestrate the demise of the Indonesian Communist Party—the largest Communist Party outside of Russia and China—and bring Indonesia firmly back into the fold of Western corporate control. In the process, between 500,000 and a million people were killed. Many of the victims were communists and trade unionists. Far more were ordinary workers and peasants, people barely involved politically, caught up in a widespread, extremely brutal, and carefully managed campaign of annihilating all effective opposition. It was, said the CIA, "one of the ghastliest and most concentrated bloodletting of current times."(168)

By 1970, it was clear that the country had been saved. New investment laws had been passed which gave sweeping rights to foreign investors, especially in oil and gas, metal mining, and timber; the 'green revolution' took over much of agriculture; the military was more fully westernized; and the urban economy was opened up to Western consumerism. In the process, the U.S. had secured the first—and largest—of its Southeast Asian 'dominoes', at an especially crucial time in its bid for global hegemony. For the U.S. in particular the stakes had been enormous: Indonesia was one of the most strategically important countries in the non-Western world, and its transition had to be extremely carefully managed. For a long time, events before and after 1965 were presented to the world as an understandably brutal local episode: of generals provoked by an attempted coup, and of a people's reaction to threatened tyranny. In reality, the entire process was part of a much more global game. And for many, the bloodshed served very lofty goals.

If the Rockefeller Panel Reports had focused on Latin America, they had only done so as part of a much wider scheme of thinking. Already, in the early years of the nineteenth century, American

politicians were referring to the Pacific as an "American lake": U.S. occupation of the Philippines, as well as its participation in World War II, the Korean War, and the war in Indochina, were all in pursuit of this ideal. In 1953, Eisenhower justified support for the French in appropriate terms:

> "Let us assume that we lose Indochina ... The Malay peninsula ... would be scarcely defensible. The tin and tungsten we so value ... would cease coming .... (If) we lost all that, how would the Free World hold the rich empire of Indonesia?
>
> ... So when the US votes $400 million to help that war ... we are voting (to) prevent something that would be of a most terrible significance to the United States of America, our security, our power, and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indonesian territory and from Southeast Asia."

Fourteen years later, in 1967, the Pacific Rim Strategy was given its formal definition at the Stanford Research Institute. This marked the start of serious attempts to plan U.S. corporate strategy in terms of the Pacific Basin as a whole—as the Japanese were beginning to do. Crucial to the whole design was the containment of China, the support of Japan and the emerging industrial bases of South Korea and Taiwan, and the prosecution of the war in Indochina as part of the attempt to create a 'defensive perimeter' between China and Southeast Asia, especially Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia. Other elements in the strategy (such as the 'white auxiliaries' of Australia and New Zealand, and the Pacific Coast of Latin America) interacted with these, in a grand plan to more fully integrate the industrialization of the Californian seaboard with the markets and raw materials of Latin America, Australia, and Southeast Asia, and the counterpart industrialization of the South Korea-Japan-Taiwan axis on the other side of the Pacific. Behind this was the hope that, eventually, the Pacific Basin economy would be able to penetrate the vast hinterland of China.

In the same year that the Pacific Rim Strategy was formally announced, the new Indonesian government signed its Foreign Investment Guarantee Law with the United States, and President Nixon summarized the benefits:

> "With its 100 million people and its 3,000 mile arc of islands, containing the region's richest hoard of natural resources, Indonesia comprises the greatest prize in the Southeast Asian region."

And so there was no question that the bloodshed of the previous two years had been worth it. But it was, clearly, a history that had to be very delicately written. The play of Western intelligence services, Western diplomats, and Western military aid—before the coup, during it, and immediately afterwards—was carefully re-defined. So too was the role of those most reliable of auxiliaries, the evangelical mission agencies. Indeed, the succession of Suharto's 'New Order' in Indonesia was as much a tale of missionary endeavour as it was of military operations, diplomatic scheming, and economic warfare. And it was to be part of that endeavour that one of the most poignant of questions would be laid to rest, as the holocaust of the mid-1960s was rewritten as a kind of holy redemption, a blood-letting of divine necessity.

During the time of Sukarno, Christian churches in Indonesia had shown modest expansion. The impact of American evangelicals, at least publicly, also appeared to have been modest. After 1965, however, the situation changed dramatically. American mission agencies flocked into the country, partly in the slipstream of the new foreign penetration, but also, crucially, as its advance troops. One of the most significant of the new entrants was the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which came to Indonesia for the first time in 1970, after waiting patiently in the sidelines in the Philippines and New Guinea. In the same year, Youth With a Mission set up for the first time in Java, and a year later the Haggai Institute was established in Singapore,

very much in response to events in the archipelago. To evangelicals, though, this was merely the tail-end of a miraculous six years.

There was already a widespread missionary infrastructure in Indonesia before 1965. The Pentecostals had been in the country since the 1920s; the Presbyterians and Baptists already had well-established networks of adherents, churches, and seminaries, and so had many of the non-denominational missionary groups like the Christian and Missionary Alliance. There were some eight million Christians in Indonesia at the time of Sukarno's downfall, many holding influential positions in commerce, politics, and the military. To this extent at least, any new wave of missionaries already had a secure foothold.

Before 1965, one of the most active of the foreign mission groups had been the Southern Baptist Convention. The Southern Baptists, like their Government, believed that Indonesia was ripe for change. When the country did erupt, the SBC was ready to exploit the situation. And as Suharto's New Order consolidated, Indonesian events became part of Baptist mythology.

In 1959, a Baptist missionary called Edward Owen Sanders was posted to Indonesia. After setting up a base in Yogyakarta, Sanders spent the sixties coordinating the SBC's mission effort across much of the archipelago. He was joined in 1964 by Avery T. Willis, who served for six years as a field evangelist and church planter before becoming president of the Indonesian Baptist Theological Seminary. He was then joined in 1970 by Jerry Rankin, who evangelized in East Java for 12 years, before eventually becoming Area Director for Southeast Asia and the Pacific, and finally President of the SBC's International Mission Board. Sanders himself became head of SBC's Indonesian operations in 1972. By this time he had (in the words of the Baptist Press) 'led in the harvest that followed the attempted coup in 1965 ... as revival swept through Indonesia.'(169)

For the evangelical movement, the turmoil of the mid-sixties was a momentous occurrence. By 1971, missionaries were claiming that over two million new Christians had been baptized within six years. The Southern Baptists claimed that the number of their adherents had quadrupled, during what the International Mission Board referred to as 'a time of miraculous harvest.' The Presbyterians rejoiced at the addition of 200,000 new members in Timor alone. The Pentecostals claimed far more. The Indonesian experience, they all said, was truly one of the ten greatest "revivals" in history.(170)

The Pentecostals claimed the 'revival' was fundamentally theirs. And so did the Baptists. Avery T. Willis (who went on to become Executive Director of the International Orality Network) wrote a book about it, called 'Indonesian Revival: Why Two Million Came to Christ'. The then head of World Vision, Baptist pastor Stan Mooneyham, wrote on Indonesia's 'revivals and miracles'. And J. Edwin Orr, Baptist luminary at Fuller College (and friend of the Fellowship Foundation) analysed the paroxysm in his book 'Evangelical Awakenings in the South Seas'.

> "... the severity of the Communists against opponents and the equal severity of Muslims against suspected Communists encouraged a movement towards the Christian faith in many parts of Indonesia ...." Orr wrote. In addition to a tremendous increase in church membership 'there was an equally important revival of believers who rejoiced in their deliverance from great tribulation; an awakening to spiritual need of the nominal Christians, plus an intensification of evangelism ... to meet the inquiry of awakened multitudes.'

To many Christians, what happened in Indonesia between 1965 and 1971 was a turning point for the global evangelical movement—especially in its battle with Islam and Muslims, with Communism, and with the demons that lurked in animism and various kinds of peasant syncretism.(171) For here was a moment when all the forces

of darkness came together—only to be vanquished by a civilizing Jesus and the American Way. In other words, as Pastor Daniel of the Soe Evangelical Church put it: 'The Lord used the coup to make the people seek the Lord, and revived the church to gather in the people.' It was a comfortable mythology. But it wasn't quite that simple.

There were two problems for the evangelicals: one concerned their definition of the 'revival'; the other concerned the secular reality of which the 'revival' was a part. The 'revival' itself involved the conversion of people from a range of backgrounds: the Pentecostals, among others, claimed that the majority of converts were 'nominal Muslims' fleeing a malign chaos of rampant Islam, demonic animism, and Communism on the one hand, and embracing the supernatural power of the Holy Spirit on the other; in addition, there were 'nominal Christians', Catholics, tribal animists, even ex-communist 'atheists'. All sought to escape the tyranny of Communism. And all were eager (so the evangelists proclaimed) for the 'peace, forgiveness, fellowship, power, love, and progress' offered by the Christian Church.

Conversions, however, implied proselytisation. And there was considerable evidence that the mode of evangelization which many missionaries adopted left little room for choice, particularly amongst a traumatized and threatened population. The Pentecostalists came in for special criticism from fellow evangelists—but any theological dispute was blunted by a collective hand-wringing over the enormity of the task, and the need to use local missionaries. Foreign mission groups could not hope to cover the whole country, it was argued, especially given the urgency many saw in exploiting the opportunity. They therefore made extensive use of hastily-trained 'team ministries' of local missionaries, many themselves recent converts, who laid great emphasis on hellfire, damnation, and repentance, and who railed indiscriminately against the evils of tribal animism. In the case of the Pentecostals, this went hand in hand with an equal stress on the supernatural power of the Holy Spirit, and the signs, wonders, and miracles of which He was capable—this, believed the Pentecostals,

was especially potent in attracting converts from amongst the *abangan* Muslims of Java.

But whatever the attractions, the true scale of the 'revival' would always be a mystery. A proper count was impossible. And the very plastic definition of 'conversion', even 'baptism', would always be a difficulty. Especially when countless people were scared out of their wits, and when millions of Javanese syncretists, and tribal animists throughout the archipelago, were under pressure from the military to abandon their traditional religion for monotheism—for failure to follow one of the five official religions, it was suggested, could indicate sympathy with Communism. Besides, without doubt, the evangelists themselves preferred to deal in figures that were vague but impressive. And two million seemed just about right.

Still, for the foreign evangelists it was a halcyon time—not least because the government in many ways seemed on their side. Both missionary and government were driven by much the same ideology: both sought to eliminate the threat of Communism, rooting out its structures at every level of society; both sought to centralize power in the hands of a pro-Western elite which, though largely Muslim, was not assertively so; both favoured a capitalist economy which gave free rein to foreign investment; both sought to 'civilize' the country's nether regions, especially those settled by tribal and largely animist populations. In addition, the government was particularly keen to apply the Pancasila tenet of One Supreme God, enshrined in the Constitution, as a civilizing tool—and as part of the campaign to eliminate as much as possible of animist tribal life (such as communal organization, shifting cultivation, and worship of forest spirits), as well as "atheistic communism".

In a number of ways, missionary groups worked hand-in-hand with the new regime. Transmigration policy, for example, provided plenty of scope for cooperation—as groups like New Tribes Mission, SIL-JAARS, and MAF (all with large aviation support) penetrated

the remote but productive regions of the outer provinces, often as pioneers, to pass out the bible and do ethno-linguistic research, and to build air strips, schools, and churches. And as transmigration was also seen by the regime as an opportunity to settle Javanese Muslims in non-Muslim areas, it was doubly important for the missions to establish a Christian presence—to evangelize amongst both the natives and the transmigrants themselves.

In the ensuing forty years, the evangelists penetrated every part of society. Wherever there was an institution of some influence, they infiltrated it—even if it was already something of a Christian preserve. Special efforts were made to evangelize amongst the urban (and relatively wealthy) Chinese, who dominated much of economic life. In addition to sectors of economic influence, the evangelists targeted the military. There were already a number of senior Christian generals during Sukarno's time: in the 40 years following his downfall, the National Defence College produced a further 954 graduates of Lieutenant-General or higher, 163 of whom were Christian, mainly Protestant—in other words, the Christian representation in the Armed Services was well above the average for the country. And in many other strategic areas—for example, education, local government, and mass media—the Western evangelical influence became especially strong.

For the West generally, Indonesia's New Order proved its worth over the decades which followed 1965. Evangelization certainly helped secure the prize. But the need to counter 'Islamization' remained—indeed, it became even greater, in Indonesia as elsewhere, as the West's imperial expansion impinged more and more on the Muslim World. When Muslim groups had rampaged against the PKI, their violence had been a sad necessity. Now, however, with the communists annihilated, the missions had to resume their battle against an enemy with much deeper roots—and one for which the government, naturally, had far greater sympathy. Already, by 1969, Suharto's regime had begun to show at least an official suspicion of

foreign missionaries—with restrictions on gospel concerts, on the construction of places of worship, and on door-to-door proselytizing. Such measures, however, were mere tokens. Indonesia was the largest Muslim country in the world, but it was also one of the most complex. And the resources—and the versatility—of the evangelists were well able to cope. Above all, as the official conscience of the West's secular power, it could be safely said that the evangelists were as safe as their masters.

And this raises a rather thorny question. Western mission groups, to a very large extent, have long been an essential and definable part of the West's foreign policy machine. This has been especially the case in Southeast Asia, where groups like World Vision, MAF, SIL, and SBC have knowingly served an auxiliary role to the U.S. military presence. It has certainly been the case in Indonesia. Given this, one may reasonably ask: how far were such evangelists complicit in the holocaust that gave them their 'miraculous harvest'?

It is clear that most Western evangelists at the time were happy to accept the version of events put out by the U.S. State Department and its Indonesian associates. This portrayed the P.K.I. and its supporters as the main culprits on two counts: first, in attempting a coup against the Army leadership; and second, in committing acts of mass terror against opponents. Such provocation required a firm response. Regrettably, the authorities had to do whatever was necessary to protect the State and the population at large. Sometimes the response got a little out of hand, especially from young Muslim extremists, but in the end the threat of a communist takeover was decisively beaten. Indeed, God worked in wonderful and miraculous ways. Sometimes, He set the servants of Satan upon one another. What they did in the process, of course, was Satan's work—but it was all to a Divine Purpose, and therefore to be celebrated. Such reasoning allowed many evangelists to feel comfortable about what was without question one of the most horrific episodes in twentieth century history. The truth of the matter, however, was rather different.

It is inconceivable that senior members of the evangelical community were unaware of the reality of the Indonesian situation, both during and after Sukarno's time. It is equally unlikely that they were unaware that the U.S. strategic stake in that part of the world had already inspired a number of CIA-backed coups in the region, including one against Sukarno in 1958. Evangelical agencies such as the SBC operated in close liaison with the State Department, the big foundations, and the CIA. They had a well-defined role in this liaison: they were intelligence-gatherers, couriers, and crisis managers—as well as a sort of shop window of Christian conscience. Like the Peace Corps, they were the "good cop" that always accompanied the "bad cop" of military (and para-military) force. No doubt, they had their own agenda—but it was an agenda that the more secular politicians and military men could feel perfectly at ease with.

Such complicity, of course, had always to be deniable. In all situations, but especially when dealing with Muslims. In the words of the SBC's Jerry Rankin (who joined Edward Sanders' Indonesian operation in 1970): in missionizing amongst Muslims "Americans have to keep a very low profile ... (This) involved tweaking our strategy to be more involved in a very behind-the-scenes grass-roots discipleship and training of local believers."(172) In Indonesia, during the time of Sukarno, such "grass-roots discipleship and training" certainly helped to lay the infrastructure of converts, pastors, and churches upon which the "revival" would depend. At the same time, U.S.A.I.D. was working with the Indonesian military to set up a network of 'civic action' groups which, among other things, would allow the army to penetrate all local civil, religious, and political organizations —and thereby extend the reach of its anti-Sukarno, anti-PKI 'Territorial Warfare' apparatus. The 'civic action' programme was also supported by the Ford Foundation, the U.S. military (including the RAND Foundation) and the CIA; while the "Territorial Warfare" project was essentially the model of counter-insurgency operations proposed by Defense Department operative Guy Paulker. Inevitably, the fabric of SBC's (and other mission groups') operations would

interweave with those of more secular agencies, especially at local levels of organization—and, more strategically, in terms of advice and information, and occasionally logistics. For more delicate operations, especially involving military and para-military action, the basis of cooperation would have to be "don't ask, don't tell'.

The planning of the Gestapu coup and the counter coup, and the subsequent massacres, certainly fell into such a category. For many of the evangelical agencies, however, this period was absolutely crucial for what came later. So long as it was, as a narrative, suitably packaged; and so long as the missionaries themselves could not be seen as actors in a horror which immeasurably benefited them.

With Sukarno and the PKI out of the way, of course, evangelicals could share in the benefits which their more secular compatriots expected to reap from a change of regime. But for the missionaries, there were more subtle benefits. The holocaust of 1965 killed perhaps one million people—indeed, one of its main organizers, Lieutenant General Sarwo Edhie, claimed three million had perished. The killing was concentrated in a few bloody months, it was extensively and thoroughly planned, and it was often extraordinarily brutal. It bore many of the hall-marks of a comprehensive and well-researched psychological warfare campaign, designed to inflict intimidation on a mass scale, through both widespread and precisely-targeted terror. The spectrum of atrocity spread amply from individual assassinations, through beheadings, disembowellings, the display of impaled torsos, to the 'precautionary' murder of entire extended families. Of the true nature of the crime, certainly, there would be no shortage of evidence.

That this was a carefully-orchestrated campaign of state terror was beyond question. That the campaign served its purpose, by eliminating all effective opposition to the new pro-Western regime, was also beyond question. It is also beyond dispute that the events were planned and managed with the help of security services belonging to

the United States, Britain, and a number of other Western countries. The strategic benefits of the outcome were one reason for this involvement. But there was another reason. Indonesia was to be a useful laboratory for a massive experiment in psychological warfare.

Peter Dale Scott, a professor of English at Berkeley University and a long-time critic of U.S. foreign policy, has long argued that this was the case. The 1965 'coup attempt' and subsequent massacre, says Scott, was

> "part of a single co-ordinated psychological warfare operation, arguably the largest that the world has ever seen. It would seem to respond to what U.S. Ambassador Howard P. Jones was calling for in 1961, as part of his seven-point program to prevent Indonesia's slide toward communism. One of his proposals was that the U.S. prepare for 'a possible major psychological war campaign coordinating covert and overt resources, when proper climate can be developed.'"(173)

In a number of voluminously referenced papers, Scott presents his case. Some of this case refers to events which have long been used as evidence that the United States Government (and other Western governments) encouraged the Indonesian Army to eliminate the PKI: covert aid to the Indonesian Army, the U.S. training of some 4,000 military officers, the presentation of lengthy lists of PKI targets for assassination, for example. But Scott goes much further, to argue that the studied brutality of the Indonesian massacre was actually a carefully-planned feature, imported by the C.I.A.—and not the random outbursts of wild people. He shows that U.S. counter-insurgency operations have long included terror tactics as a matter of course, that such tactics have their official manuals and their trademarks—and that such trademarks were especially evident in Indonesia, both during 1965 and later in East Timor. Scott also shows that what happened in Indonesia in 1965 was—with modification, but also explicit acknowledgement—replicated in Vietnam (in the Phoenix Programme), in Cambodia, in Chile, in Guatemala,

Nicaragua, and El Salvador, and in Lebanon. Indonesia, quite simply, was a laboratory for the use of terror as "pacification", and in particular for the refinement of the para-military 'death squad' as an instrument of warfare against civilians.

For the evangelists, at the time, this must have been a matter of considerable awkwardness. However, the partnership between evangelist and government is much the same as that between any secret service and its parent ministry—there is an ostensible separation of function, and deniability both ways. If the left hand uses lethal tactics, why should the right hand know about it—if the body as a whole stands to benefit?

In Indonesia, the holocaust yielded benefits which could be said to apply to Western interests generally, such as the opening up of the country to foreign investment. But there were also benefits of a more spiritual nature, which could be said to apply more specifically to the evangelists. For example, it was helpful that terror tactics could be more closely associated with Muslim and communist elements than with Christian ones—even though this association was largely a matter of black propaganda (the display of eviscerated corpses, for example, and the floating of impaled bodies down rivers were both well-documented traits of C.I.A. terror training). Demonic behaviour, presented as both a Muslim and a communist attribute, clearly helped the evangelical cause. As did religiously slanted propaganda, such as the call in the Jakarta Daily Mail (in December 1966) to eliminate the PKI—and 'cast out this spawn of hell, root and branch', from a 'God-fearing Indonesia'. For a long time, especially in Java, evangelists had used the local blending of Islam and belief in the spirit world as an entry point for their preaching. Now, the massacres could be used to advantage in a number of ways: as a symbol of atheistic evil, as an eruption of Islamic cruelty, and as the spirit world in its most demonic and vengeful. In every case, the contrast of a Jesus who would love and forgive and bring peace—to the evangelists at least—had to be a potent one.

It was not the first time, and it would certainly not be the last time, that a loving Jesus would be brought riding in on the coat-tails of terror. Either in the rest of the world, or in Indonesia itself.

The Angels of Dili

Between the Portuguese departure in 1975 and the 1999 referendum, the Indonesian army has dominated affairs in East Timor. Fears of leftwing insurrection and secession, held by both the Indonesian elite and Western interests, economic concerns (especially to do with oil and gas reserves),and cultural antagonism between the Javanese and the Timorese combined to ensure that the military presence was both harsh and little reported.

Although most of the East Timorese population are Catholic, the conflict has not been largely a religious one. Many are only nominally Catholic, and animism remains strong. Furthermore, since 1975, the Indonesian authorities encouraged adoption of Catholicism as a way of countering the spread of leftwing ideology, and in particular the influence of the P.K.I. Besides, the government's East Timor campaign was in large part designed and implemented by Christians, both Catholic and Protestant. General Benny Moerdani, a Catholic from Central Java, as head of the Ministry of Defence Strategic Intelligence Centre during the 1970s, helped plan the invasion and the subsequent occupation—and was also responsible for ending the ceasefire in 1983. Other Christian generals who played a major role in East Timor include Major General Erwin Sudjono (for a time Chief of Army Strategic Reserve, and the present President's brother-in-law), Lieutenant General Johny Lumintang (a Manado Protestant who commanded the East Timor and West Papua campaigns during the 1990s, and who is currently being sued in a U.S. court for war killings), Brigadier General Theo Syafei, and Lieutenant General Herman Mantiri.(174)

Herman Bernhard Leopold Mantiri is a Protestant. He was born in Bogor in 1939, and was trained in the National Defence College at Surabaya. His military career developed most notably during the 1980s and 1990s. He was appointed Commander of Security Operations Command/ Strategic Reserve (Korem), 1st Infantry Division, in 1987. In 1991, he became Military Commander, Eastern Indonesia, replacing Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, following a massacre of some 250 people in Dili earlier in the year. He was then made Assistant for Operations to the Commander-in-Chief of Armed Forces in 1992, and Chief of Staff (Kasun) during 1993-1995. During this time, he was involved (together with Suharto's daughter) in negotiating with the British for the purchase of Scorpion tanks, visiting the U.K. in 1994—the same year his ambassadorship to Australia was withdrawn following protests about his position on East Timor.

As a military man, Mantiri had the reputation of being quiet and businesslike. He was, observers said, "a soldier's soldier" with a firm sense of discipline. "The military," said Mantiri, "are like shepherds pushing the people forward—there must always be strong leaders." Indeed, in the 2003 Presidential Elections, the two leading candidates—Golkar's General Wiranto and the victor Susilo Bambang Yudoyono—had both served in East Timor under Mantiri's command, and Mantiri had been consistent in dismissing any claim that the Indonesian Army had behaved badly in its mission. General Wiranto himself, accused of war crimes, "had nothing to explain" Mantiri claimed, and the killing of 250 civilians in Dili in 1991 had been "quite proper"—protestors, after all, are enemies of the Army, and must be treated accordingly.

Lieutenant-General Mantiri continued in positions of leadership after retirement from the army. He became Deputy Chairman of the Executive Board of the Indonesian Veterans' Legion. He served as Ambassador to Singapore between 1996 and 1999, and went on to occupy key positions on the boards of a number of large corporations. He was made President Director of PT Mitra Adi Perkasa Tbk—one of

Indonesia's biggest retailers of 'lifestyle brands' such as Calvin Klein, Spalding, and Disney, and owner of the Starbucks and Kinokuniya franchises. And he became a key figure in Indonesia's mass media, joining PT Surya Citra Media Tbk (Indonesia's only integrated media corporation, and owner of one of the country's biggest TV channels) as President Commissioner—and, more significantly, becoming the President Director of Sinar Harapan, Indonesia's leading Protestant newspaper. As soldier, diplomat, and businessman, he had most certainly made a name for himself. But there was another side to Herman Mantiri.

It was symbolic, perhaps, that during Mantiri's command in East Timor, soldiers from the Army Engineers Corps built a large statue of Jesus Christ to guard the entrance of Dili harbour. The statue, sponsored by Garuda, the state airline, cost $6 million and is 27 metres high—representing East Timor as the 27th province of Indonesia. It was jointly dedicated, in 1995, by President Suharto and Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo.

It was an apt footnote to Mantiri's time in command. For Mantiri is not just a Christian. He is a committed evangelical, a member of the Evangelical Fellowship of Indonesia, and a leading member of the Assembly of God Church in his home town of Bogor. He is also the President of the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship in Indonesia.(175)

For the FGBMFI, Herman Mantiri was a heaven-sent recruit. In all respects, he fitted the fellowship's requirements—he was a native Christian in a strategic country, of high military rank and impeccable capitalist credentials, with both deep knowledge of the ways of money and politics, and considerable influence at the highest levels. He was the kind of man that the FGBMFI had courted in scores of similarly strategic—and unstable—countries in South America, Africa, and Asia. Although in one respect, at least, Indonesia was a very special case—it was the "largest Muslim country in the world."

Indonesia's importance to the fellowship's plans was neatly summarized by the leader of one of its visiting "Fire Teams". In 2004, an FGBMFI group from Nigeria, led by Gideon Esurua, visited the country. According to Brother Gideon:

> "... the greatest desire in the heart of God is to see billions in Asia... being set free from captivity and bondage. Indonesia is at the very centre of God's restoration plan for the Muslims, hence strategic. God told us that Indonesia is the door for setting the captives free in this part of the world. A mighty move is already bursting forth in the spirit realm and all nations will hear and give glory to our God."(176)

Herman Mantiri has been a key player in the expansion of FGBMFI in Indonesia—and in the spread of its mother church, the Pentecostal Assemblies of God. He is not the only general they have—a retired police major-general (U.E.Medellu) sits as an advisor on the national board; and he is certainly not the only corporate executive —indeed, "many of the top businessmen of Indonesia" are members with him. But he is certainly the FGBMFI's most influential native member, and under him the fellowship's strength has increased from some 200 chapters in 1999 to over 400 chapters, from Nias in the west to Papua in the east, in 2007. In the process, Mantiri has helped oversee one of the most significant developments in the Christianization of Indonesia—the "explosion", especially in urban areas, of U.S.-style Pentecostalism.

The rapid growth of Pentecostalism in Indonesia dates from the mid-1960s, and forms an important part of the post-Sukarno Americanization of the country's social and economic fabric—specifically, as a low-intensity means of establishing a presence where it is politically and economically important to be. Pentecostalism, at its root, is an extremely effective device for the "soft penetration" of vulnerable cultures—using faith healing, glossolalia, charismatic preaching, and mass hysteria, and the promise of material

advantage, to establish contact with groups which may otherwise resist evangelization. It was particularly useful following the anti-communist pogram of the mid-sixties—when the work of western pentecostalists was hailed as one of Christianity's "great renewals" — and since then, with the Assemblies of God (and their FGBMFI front group) in the lead, the movement has become the most aggressive of all Christian movements in the country.(177)

Its manifestations are many—and firmly interconnected. There are strong elements of Pentecostalism in groups like Youth With A Mission and Campus Crusades for Christ, which both have a strong presence in Indonesia. The New Apostolic Reformation, and its various agencies, are strongly influenced by Pentecostalism. Pentecostal Assemblies of God churches—such as the Bethany and Full Gospel Churches—have expanded rapidly in the past 10 years, especially in cities like Jakarta and Surabaya. And, of course, the Assemblies' front-group, the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship, under Mantiri's presidency, has multiplied its hold on the country's urban middle classes, both Chinese and non-Chinese—in part by penetrating and 'hijacking' charismatic Catholic congregations, and more generally by associating private prosperity with belief in Christ. The situation was much the same in Malaysia and Singapore, where—during the 1970s and early 1980s—the FGBMFI spearheaded a rapid expansion in the charismatic/Pentecostalist movement, under Peter Tong of the Abundant Life Church.

But it is not only in the heartlands that Pentecostalism has flourished. In East Timor and West Papua, too, the Pentecostalists have established a strategic foothold—helped, no doubt, by the presence for a time of Herman Mantiri as Commander of the Eastern Indonesia Military Region. When the FGBMF held its Asian-African Convention in Bandung in 2005, the Governor of West Irian himself paid the airfare of all 129 of the territory's delegates. East Timor, meanwhile, is undergoing "renewal" under a rather different guise.

Here, the Assemblies of God Church is the main evangelical force. Since 2000, an Assemblies group called Christian Vision has been coordinating a programme of church planting and "development work", using a proxy force of 48 Brazilian missionaries. Operating out of the United Kingdom, the group connects a number of agencies working amongst Portuguese-speaking native peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America—but it draws particular strength from its links with Brazil. Here, Christian Vision partners with an Assemblies mission called VIMADAM—or Missionary Vision of the Assembly of God in the Amazon. As the name suggests, VIMADAM is the mission wing of the Evangelical Church of the Assembly of God in the Amazon, based in Manaus. It has missionaries in Angola, Mozambique, Venezuela, and East Timor.(178)

The use of such "Latino" missionaries is increasingly common amongst Western evangelical groups, and Brazil is just one Latin American country that has become a major mission-sending force. Its missionaries have a number of advantages over white Europeans: they are dark-skinned and can therefore pass as natives in many a non-Western place—both Muslim and non-Muslim; they are usually converts from Catholicism, and can therefore work with experience amongst other Catholics; they are often poor, and therefore used to working in straitened circumstances; and their knowledge of Portuguese gives them an entry to Portugal's ex-colonies beyond Brazil. In all respects, they are ideal for East Timor.

The Brazilians, of course, are merely the ground troops for a much greater cause. Some ten new churches have been planted in East Timor—at the cost, so far, of at least one worker killed by angry Catholics. The generals, meanwhile, consolidate their position. Christian Vision-UK, itself merely a tiny part of the Assemblies' global effort, now has satellite radio stations (including six 250+kw transmitters near Darwin) broadcasting to Asia in Bahasa Indonesia, Chinese, and various South Asian languages—as well as broadcasting facilities in Zambia, Chile, and Florida. Other groups, too, are taking

East Timor seriously. In 2002, Baroness Cox's Christian Solidarity Worldwide made a "fact-finding mission" to the territory, to express concern over the new government's drift towards China, and its timidity over "human rights" in countries like Indonesia and Burma. The Baptists and WEC have missionaries there. And Youth With A Mission, with some ten missionaries, has just set up a Discipleship Training School in Australia to train East Timorese Catholics.

It is hardly a coincidence that Timor Lorosae's Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri has been accused of accepting a $2 million bribe from Conoco-Phillips Petroleum. Or that Australia has almost exhausted reserves in the Greater Sunrise oilfield, whose ownership is in dispute with Timor Lorosae. Or that the gas reserves in Timor Lorosae's territorial waters could be worth (in 2006 terms) in excess of $70 billion.

The Nanyang Connection: Evangelizing the "Chinese Diaspora"

For the past 50 years, US policy towards Asia has been guided by four key, and intertwined, objectives: containment and subversion of China, neutralization of Indochina, control of Indonesian resources, and management of Muslim Asia from Indonesia to Turkey. In pursuit of these objectives, US foreign policy has drawn the evangelical movement firmly—and with considerable success—into its strategic design. The success is perhaps least evident in the attempt to co-opt Hindu India. However, there is no question that US evangelicals have had a major impact on gaining support for Israel, on securing South Korea and Indonesia, on managing strategic border areas, and on shaping the loyalties of Asia's urban middle classes. In all this, one of the most crucial factors has been the effort to harness the support of the overseas Chinese.

There are about 60 million overseas Chinese—mostly in Southeast Asia, but with significant minorities in the US (3.6 million), Canada

(1.5 million), and Peru (1.5 million). There is some argument about definition, especially concerning the degrees of cultural assimilation. But whatever the definition, the play of world politics gives such groups, and their global network, an enormous significance. And it is not hard to see why.

There is no doubt that people of Chinese ancestry, distributed throughout over 100 countries, form a global network of some coherence ethnically and linguistically. There is no doubt, too, that within this ethnic network there is also considerable economic and political power. Chinese have a strong entrepreneurial culture, occupy strategic economic sectors in their adopted countries, and control major shares of national wealth: overall, with an estimated $1.5 trillion in aggregate value, the overseas Chinese "economy" is the third largest after Japan and the US in GNP terms; in certain countries, too, the Chinese population control the bulk of the modern national economy—in Thailand, for example, or Indonesia, where they control some 70% of GDP. Besides, many Chinese companies are as global as their Western counterparts, and have come to control resources well beyond their "home" territory—a Chinese company from Sarawak, for example, controls much of Central Africa's timber industry (especially in Gabon and Equatorial Guinea), as well as millions of hectares in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Papua-New Guinea, and facilities in Russia, China, and South America.

This economic strength, together with their strong ethnic and familial ties, gives the overseas Chinese considerable potential as a network for extending global political influence—especially in Asia. Their link with China and the United States, their non-Western personality (and skin colour), and their strong presence in Muslim Southeast Asia, give such communities added appeal to Western policy-makers. But the position of the overseas Chinese within their adopted countries is an ambiguous (and an ambivalent) one, certainly in Southeast Asia. Especially problematic is that mix of capitalist wealth and political insecurity that Wang Gung Wu calls

their "eunuch wealth". It is a characteristic, however, that offers considerable scope for the evangelists.

Between 1990 and 2008, the overseas Chinese population doubled from 30 million to almost 60 million. The increase in the Chinese-American population, in particular, was especially marked—from 1.6 million in 1990 to 3.6 million in 2008—reflecting both political changes in Asia and changes in US immigration policies. Not surprisingly, US foreign policy gives considerable weight to cultivating proxy workers amongst such expatriate populations—whether they be Chinese, Indian, Korean, African, or Middle Eastern. And not surprisingly, Christianization plays a key role in the process.

Other than Japanese Americans, there are some seven million people of East Asian ancestry living in the US—1.6 million Vietnamese, 1.6 million Koreans, and 3.6 million Chinese. Of all Asian-American minorities, Korean-Americans are the most strongly evangelized—with some 75% belonging to evangelical Protestant churches. By contrast, Protestants account for about 35% of the Chinese-American population. Over the past 20 years or so, however, the significance of evangelical Protestantism has increased dramatically: between 1998 and 2008, the number of Chinese-American Protestant churches rose from 800 to 1,000—with most of the increase accounted for by evangelical denominations such as Assemblies of God, Evangelical Lutheran, Lutheran (Missouri Synod), United Methodist, and Chinese Baptist.

To some extent, such changes mirror wider changes in US church attendance, especially the rapid growth of "ethnic" congregations compared to white congregations—between 1993 and 2004, for example, the Assemblies of God closed 400 white majority churches in the US, but opened nearly 900 churches catering for ethnic minorities. However, there is no question that evangelical churches have especially targeted the ethnic minority population in the US, as part of their global effort to Christianize the non-Western world.

And in doing this, no group has been more enthusiastic than the Pentecostals, especially the Assemblies of God.

Pentecostalism is a peculiarly American form of Christianity, and is the fastest growing of all denominations. In 1970, there were 74 million Pentecostalists/Charismatics (or six percent of the world's Christians); by 2002, with 533 million followers, Pentecostalism accounted for 26% of all Christians. The Pentecostal appeal is both theatrical and strongly commercial. Its emphasis upon "miracles, signs, and wonders"—for example, faith healing, casting out demons, and talking in tongues—has considerable resonance in cultures with an animistic background, and especially amongst very poor populations. By contrast, the Pentecostal emphasis upon "Prosperity theology" caters for a largely urban and middle class population, far removed from animism and just as likely to be mainstream Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, and even Muslim. In Southeast Asia, both theatre and pocketbook have their place in Pentecostal evangelizing. Indeed, Pentecostal evangelizing, naturally and deliberately, is often little more than Americanization in Christian dress.

The prime targets of such evangelizing are the region's already Westernized, urbanized middle classes. There are two related thrusts in the attack: one, strongly church-oriented, aims for those who are already Christian, and largely of immigrant stock—especially Chinese and Indian; another, ostensibly secular, aims for those in the middle classes who are Westernized but non-Christian (including Muslim)—and largely of indigenous ethnic background. In both cases, the key message is that of an American-style Protestant ethic, strong on individual profit within corporate loyalties, free market economics, material acquisitiveness, and the primacy of "biblical" family values and "biblical" morality. In one case, Christ is mentioned; in the other, He is not.

The theology is strongly Dominionist: power and influence on earth reside very much in the human will and in man-made corporate

structures both secular and spiritual. Great stress is placed upon a compliance with hierarchies of human authority—cell groups, churches, apostolic networks for Christians, and corporations and governments for non-Christians. The key lies in choosing the right human intermediary (or the right "Apostle") to help release God's blessings—while retaining the comfort of self-belief. Kenneth Copeland, one of the main proponents of "prosperity preaching", puts it this way:

> "God has no right to the earth at all; He needs an invitation: God had no avenue of lasting faith or moving in the earth. He had to have covenant with somebody ... He had to be invited in, in other words, or He couldn't come. God is on the outside looking in. In order to have any say so in the earth, He's going to have to be in agreement with a man here."
>
> (God's Covenant With Man II, 1985)

This covenant between God and His earthly Chosen is the key to Dominionist authority, and the basis of two defining characteristics of the movement: firstly, the enormous popularity, amongst the urban population of Africa and Asia, of Dominionist groups such as the Pentecostalists and the Baptist mega-churches; and secondly, the corresponding spread of a global apostolic power structure which binds believers firmly into an American world view, both spiritual and secular. The message is deceptively simple: God is powerful, and so is the ordinary individual—but to tap into the power of God, to both pay one's respects and to get rich, one needs the right entrepreneur. Such Dominionism feeds well on the ambitions of a merchant class. And so it is popular, and powerful, within populations such as Southeast Asia's urban Chinese—it feeds ambition, calms insecurity, and in a wider sense it draws loyalty to the enabling structure. It is, in other words, an extremely useful political tool.

The success of Dominionist ideology in urban Southeast Asia thus owes as much to evangelizing effort as it does to a receptive

audience. The Pentecostalists, in particular, have worked very hard in the region. C. Peter Wagner's choice of Singapore, for the launch of his International Coalition of Apostles, was telling: for here was one of the world's great port cities, a wealthy Chinese Israel in the heart of a major Muslim region, and a back door to the biggest untapped market in the world. Wagner and his team presented a ruthlessly apposite message to whoever would listen: Faith in Jesus made Money.

Much was made of the Bible's apparent endorsement of making money—both by hard work and by trust in Jesus. In particular, Wagner's team promised a "great transfer of wealth" from unbelievers to believers, beginning in 2001. This transfer, said Wagner, would come about partly by "supernatural transference" and partly by hard work. To explain the former, Wagner evoked the biblical "Israel in Egypt", and the release by God of "huge amounts of wealth from pagan Egyptians to His people." The message was clear: believers, said Wagner, should "plunder" the wealth of the "Godless".(179) Others in Wagner's coalition made the same point. "God," said Apostle Che Ahn, "wants to transfer the wealth of the unrighteous to the righteous"—after all, Proverbs 13:2 makes this clear by recording that "a good man leaves an inheritance for his children's children, but a sinner's wealth is stored up for the righteous." And Apostle Cindy Jacobs, speaking at the Ring of Fire Convergence conference in Jakarta in August 2008, underlined the benefit of knowing Christ:

> "One day... they're not going to say 'Oh those Jews, they're so wealthy!' They're going to say "Oh those Christians! Everything they touch turns to gold!'"

But "supernatural transference" was only part of the story. Wagner also placed a heavy responsibility on the business classes to increase their role in the funding of the Church—and its "Great Commission of making disciples of all nations." It was a shrewdly-judged pitch. In fulfilling the Great Commission, said Wagner, there are four key players responsible for Christian wealth—the providers,

the managers, the distributors, and the field marshals. The providers of wealth are in place; so too are the distributors (i.e., the mission agencies) and the field marshals (the church planters)—only the managers (the wealth-multiplying investors) are lacking. Effective evangelization, in other words, needs effective capitalist support. And in Southeast Asia, such a message resonated most strongly with the Chinese.

Commercial wealth in the region is concentrated in the hands of the Chinese; and within this community, those who are wealthy are disproportionately evangelical Christian. Thus, in Indonesia, by 2006, 22 of the richest 40 families were Chinese, and half of these were Christian, mainly evangelical Protestant, controlling some 45% of the 40 families' total wealth. Most Chinese, of course, are not wealthy; their inclination, however, is strongly commercial—and it is this inclination which fills the congregations of "prosperity preachers" like Kong Hee and Lawrence Khong in Singapore, Indri Gautama and Alex Tanuseputra in Indonesia, and even the Indian Pentecostalist Prince Guneratnam in Malaysia, whose following is largely Chinese. "The Scripture says to do business till He comes," wrote Kong Hee. "I have always held an interest for business; maybe it is the Chinese-Indonesian blood in me."

That such congregations are generous is evident in many ways. Southeast Asia's evangelical churches are amongst the most enthusiastic funders of mission in the world. They (and their wealthy patrons) are also strongly inclined to monumental (and expensive) statements of faith. Pastor Abraham Alex Tanuseputra, for example, not content with the "largest church building in the world" (the 20,000 seat Bethany Church in Surabaya) went on to invest in a giant telecommunications and "revival" centre—the "Prayer Tower" in Kemayoran—costing $250 million. Kong Hee's City Harvest Church in Singapore, with a congregation of 10,000, is the "first titanium-clad building in Asia", built with limestone imported from Europe, and costing $28 million. Then there is Ciputra's 30-metre high statue of

Christ in Manado, Indri Gautama's three-tower, 32-storey Kuningan Place in Jakarta, and Prince Guneratnam's $40 million Calvary Centre in Kuala Lumpur.

For Pentecostals in particular, such conspicuous construction is very close to the heart. Indeed, it is an essential part of the "prosperity gospel". The rationale was well defined by Che Ahn, a Korean-American Prosperity preacher, in a sermon on "the great transfer of wealth". After lauding Pastor Alex Tanuseputra's Prayer Tower, Che Ahn went on:

> "Our church's own building, Ambassador Auditorium, is also a prophetic sign of the great transfer of wealth. God miraculously provided the finances for our church to buy this building ... The ceiling is covered with 24-carat pure gold leaf. A $1 million chandelier decorates the entrance. The wall is made of pure onyx, which is a gemstone. God gave us Ambassador Auditorium as a prophetic sign of the great transfer of wealth, and we are utilizing the building to advance His kingdom and to transform our society."

There is, however, a more prosaic side to Prosperity gospelling. Wealth is celebrated in monumental symbolism, but it is also celebrated as a thoroughly Christian virtue and aspiration for ordinary people, in congregations large and small, to follow. As such, it is one of the key precepts of an organized and strongly politicized morality, carefully tailored for secular ends. It is also the driving force behind a vast—and very worldly—money-making machine.

The "great transfer of wealth", of course, is given theological sense within the context of "End Time" teachings, and the preparations for Christ's Second Coming. In these preparations, Southeast Asia has its own particular role to play—for Pentecostalists (especially those connected with Wagner's ICA) have refined such End Time theology into a sales pitch with carefully-"contextualized" regional packaging. Southeast Asia has its own set of prophesies, validated by God's

Generals on Earth—and Indonesia (at least Christian Indonesia) will be specially blessed.

The promise is for those who pray, pray hard, and go on praying. The Lord, said Apostle Cindy Jacobs of the Apostolic Council of Prophetic Elders, had heard His people's cries, and would "heal this land" of Indonesia—for Indonesia, being "a Joseph nation", would be made strong in the latter days, with plentiful harvests from the sea, the forests, the fields, and the mines. In addition, the Lord would "bring a great revival to the military .... There is going to be many miracles in the military .... The Lord says, Indonesia's military will be my army." Furthermore, says Apostle Cindy, God is going "to heal the economy of Indonesia .... He is going to pull down corruption .... There is also going to be an anointing for finance .... God is going to give you favor for permits so you can build your buildings."(180)

Of course, such material benefits are just part of the story. The key is investment in the body of Christ, in the shape of the Church. Prayer not only brings commercial success; it also brings "many mega-churches ... many prayer centers ... prayer towers in city after city"—and in addition to this, "one day the Indonesian church will give more money per capita than any other nation of the world to missions." It will also "help bring revival to the United States."

For the Pentecostals, then, as they prepare for the Second Coming, Christian prayer and the Christian management of money go hand in hand. However, the Pentecostals' agenda is a complex agenda, and one with deep (and often murky) roots in worldly affairs. In Southeast Asia, this coincidence of prayer and money is not just a local Chinese affair—it is anchored hard in the realities of US policy towards China, the Muslim world, and Israel, and in the battle to extend US political and economic influence throughout the Asia-Pacific region. The Pentecostals' push for influence in the region is an essential part of this battle.

Nowhere is this more clearly evident than in the shape and the activities of C. Peter Wagner's International Coalition of Apostles—one of the key structures in US evangelical strategy. Largely Pentecostalist, and strongly Dominionist, the ICA brings together, in one "apostolic network", over 500 US churches and mission agencies. It is an elaborately organized, complex, and global undertaking, held together by sophisticated management machinery, high-powered advertising—and well-orchestrated prayer. And it is especially well developed in Southeast Asia, where the entire structure and all its essential components are well in place. In particular, in the three most westernized countries (Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines), the political, military, and commercial establishments have all been effectively penetrated.

Wagner's International Coalition of Apostles already has some 13 "territorial apostles" in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia. Through wide-ranging networks of business fellowships, Christian military fellowships, leadership training institutes, mega-churches, and other U.S.-based evangelical agencies, these individuals operate and interact at many levels within both their own and many other countries besides. And in all respects—ideologically, tactically, and strategically—there is a notably high degree of coherence in these operations, nationally, regionally, and globally. Indeed, an apostle is chosen not simply to serve a locality, but more importantly for his (or her) ability to integrate fruitfully into a complex global scheme—and serve both the locality and the system as a whole.

Pastors Abraham Alex Tanuseputra, Eddy Leo, Jimmy Oentoro, and Indrijati Gautama are all Chinese-Indonesian members of the International Coalition of Apostles. There are others, but the involvement of these four illustrates as well as anything the complexity of the project they serve.

ABRAHAM ALEX TANUSEPUTRA was a "chemist and businessman" before his life was changed by a car accident in 1965. Becoming a pastor in the Indonesian Bethel Church, he established 14 churches around his home town of Mojokerto in East Java, before moving in 1977 to Surabaya, from where he went on to establish a further 800 churches (40 of them overseas), with a congregation of 100,000 members. In 1988, at the age of 46, he was awarded his Ph.D. from the International Christian University, and in 1995 he gained a Divinity doctorate from the Church of God's Lee College in Cleveland, Tennessee.(181)

The Church of God (Cleveland), which belongs to the Holiness Pentecostal movement, is Pastor Alex's adoptive Church. It is the second largest Pentecostal church after the Assemblies of God, with some six million members worldwide. It has long been involved in Indonesia, and was especially active in the 1960s, absorbing the indigenous Bethel Church (Gereja Bethel Indonesia) in 1967, and establishing its own Indonesian Bible Seminary the following year. Through its Youth World Evangelism Action ministry, the Church of God funded a Training Center in Surabaya in 1997, and went on to help Pastor Alex build his Bethany Church, which opened in 2000. The Indonesian connection is crucial: there are more Church of God adherents in Indonesia than there are in the United States (1.3 million compared with just over a million), and some small US churches are even subsidized by the larger Indonesian ones; besides, the Church's missionary outreach relies increasingly on missionaries from Indonesia—especially to China, but also to other countries, such as the US and Malaysia, where the ethnic Chinese connection is important.

To date, Bethany Church Surabaya is Pastor Alex's crowning achievement. The building holds 25,000 people, and is the largest church building in Southeast Asia. It is one of two large constructions that Pastor Alex is responsible for: he is also the President Commissioner of Prasada Japa Pamudja, a consortium of 100 companies which is

now putting the finishing touches to the Jakarta Revival Center—a large multi-media complex in Kemayoran, with convention facilities, broadcasting studios, and a "prayer tower", costing some $250 million. The Pentecostalist "national prayer network" recognizes prayer towers in 500 towns and cities throughout the country, and this—at 1,800 feet tall—is by far the largest.

Bethany Church Surabaya is a focal point in the Pentecostals' global scheme. The Pentecostal World Fellowship held their 2007 Conference there, drawing delegates from 35 countries. The church is also on the crusading itineraries of a long list of Pentecostal evangelists, including Reinhard Bonnke, David Yonggi Cho, Jack Hayford, Joyce Meyer, and Samuel Doctorian. It is thus a key clearing-house for the influence of a number of Pentecostal/Charismatic networks, including Wagner's International Coalition of Apostles, and John C. Maxwell's Million Leaders Mandate.

As we have seen, the ministry of John C. Maxwell effectively combines both "secular" and Christian versions of prosperity teaching. In Indonesia, the national director of Maxwell's EQUIP (and the national coordinator of EQUIP's Million Leaders Mandate) is an evangelist called Tommy Smith—who happens to be the Church of God (Cleveland)'s leading missionary for Indonesia, and a close associate of Pastor Alex. Indeed, Bethany Church routinely plays host to evangelists who combine the credentials of both Church of God and Million Leaders Mandate—Robert D. ('Chip') Pace, for example, in 2004.

The main business of Pastor Alex's Bethany Church is the promotion of an "End Time" ideology amongst the region's largely Chinese Christians. Its message is both worldly and apocalyptic—strong on "prosperity gospelling", hot on millenarian prophesy, and ardently Christian Zionist. "Disasters in Indonesia," says Pastor Alex, "—tsunamis, earthquakes, floods—(are) a sign that it's the beginning of the harvest." And such a message is reinforced by visitors like

Dr Doctorian, a Lebanese evangelist of Mosaic appearance—and strong Christian Zionist inclination—who is known as "The Man Who Prophesied the Tsunami". Dr Doctorian's "Five Angel Vision" foresaw parts of Asia—and half of Australia—crumbling into the sea.

The church's Zionism, though, is somewhat less readily celebrated. As a biblical concept, of course, Israel is omnipresent. But Pastor Alex is also more practically involved in Middle Eastern affairs: in 1999, for example, he was one of 700 Indonesians attending the 20th Christian Zionist celebration of the Feast of the Tabernacles in Jerusalem. The event, organized by the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem, was opened by city mayor Ehud Olmert, and Indonesia's delegation was the largest delegation attending. It was a piquant symbol of the symbiosis between the Israelis, the American Right, and their Asian auxiliaries.

EDDY LEO founded the Abbalove Ministry in 1979, as a tool for extending Pentecostalist control over small and vulnerable churches.(182) Within 27 years, he had built up a congregation of about 15,000 members, with over 5,000 followers, establishing well over 1,000 cell churches—especially in Jakarta, Bali, and Lombok, but also (partly as a result of involvement in "tsunami relief") in regions as distant as Aceh and Nias. Eddy Leo's project is in large measure an answer to restrictions on megachurches in Indonesia: his ministry first identifies small district churches with malleable pastors; it then aims to revitalize these, within three years, into 1,000-strong congregations—through a programme of tight cell monitoring by elders who combine the ministries of apostle, prophet, evangelist, pastor, and teacher. Leo claims considerable success with "ex-Muslims"—of the 1,500 people who came to Christ during one six-month crusade, he records, some 300 were Muslims. The appeal of Abbalove's message, says Leo, has a lot to do with economic distress, and persecution of Christians—and, for Muslims, the promise of miracles:

> "... Christians are persecuted and under constant threat all over the country. Marauding bands of jihad fighters sweep upon the churches like a flood and the police are completely helpless against them! 'Yet despite—or rather because of—this situation of persecution, the churches are experiencing meteoric growth. Many of the Muslims who turn to Christ experience supernatural signs and wonders, healings, visions, and dreams,' recounts Pastor Leo."
>
> (Natural Church Development On Line, May 5th, 2006)(183)

But Eddy Leo is rather more than Abbalove Ministries. He is also founder of the Lighthouse Equipping Theology School and the Integrated Global Mission Network, he is a member of the Texas-based International Men's Network, he is the Indonesian Chairman of the Christian Men's Network, and he is a member of the Second Billion Network, with the brief of Chair/ False Religions (a.k.a. Muslim Outreach) And it is as part of these last two organizations that Eddy Leo performs most notably on a global stage.

The Christian Men's Network was founded in 1977 by a Pentecostalist preacher called Edwin Louis Cole, who gained his "doctorate" by correspondence course from New Covenant University in New Zealand.(184) Cole, renowned for his aphorisms, defined the ethos of his creation as "Manhood and Christlikeness are synonymous"—the network would "Build Men, Build Churches, Transform Cultures." In pursuit of this goal, a "Majoring in Men" program taught courses in Maximized Manhood; Communication, Sex, and Money; Strong Men in Tough Times; and Courage—with students "graduating" from one of Cole's books to the next. It was coursework such as this that helped give Eddy Leo his training—and that also allowed Edwin Louis Cole to claim that he had "inspired and mentored world leaders such as Kong Hee, John Calvin Maxwell, Eddy Leo, Pat Robertson, Oliver North, and Chuck Norris."

Eddy Leo now works part-time for C.M.N. as an evangelist in Europe, especially in Germany and Russia—where he pursues a "men's ministry carrying the message of U.S. Christian leadership to the former Soviet Empire." In this, he is a colleague of the Nigerian Assemblies of God evangelist Sunday Adelaja, territorial apostle in Wagner's I.C.A. for the Ukraine, and renowned for having founded the largest church in Europe—Ukraine's Embassy of the Blessed Kingdom of God for All Nations. In addition to his European responsibilities, Eddy Leo also preaches in Brazil—in pursuit of the Strategic Plan to Saturate South America by 2010.

The Second Billion Network is closely connected with the Christian Men's Network. It is run by James O. Davis, founder of the earlier Global Pastors' Network (a front group for Campus Crusades for Christ) and "professor" in charge of Assemblies of God mail order theology courses. In his academic capacity, Davis writes prolifically on the theological basis of US foreign policy—his "Three Battles We Cannot Afford to Lose", for example, gives eloquent biblical support for a Zionist approach to the Middle Eastern problem.(185)

Within the Second Billion Network, Eddy Leo is primarily concerned with ministry to men, and combating the hold of "radical Islam". In his own country, says Leo:

> "the large Muslim population is one of the biggest problems in preaching the Gospel ... Many of our Indonesian men are recruited by militant groups ... attacks are carried out ... sometimes in our own churches."

The solution to this, claims Leo, is to train men "to know right from wrong" through a nationwide network of "men's centers" reaching 'the upper echelons of business and government." Already, Leo has established 39 such centres, and—in five years—has "mentored 100,000 men" and won "thousands of Muslim men" for Christ. Even if the claim is an exaggeration—and Pentecostalist

successes are usually somewhat inflated—Leo's efforts are but a small part of a much grander project. Within the International Coalition of Apostles itself, eight other pastors are at work in Indonesia.

Their primary focus is, like Leo's—and like groups such as the FGBMFI—one that is urban, professional, and strongly business-oriented. It is a natural focus, for organizations which have their roots and rationale in American big business. And there is a logic in the emphasis—control of Satan's port-city domains, after all, is a useful start in vanquishing the hinterlands. But, like most other Protestants, the Pentecostalists are extending their influence far beyond the main city areas—and the use of "native missionaries", like Eddy Leo and Jimmy Oentoro, is essential to expanding the crusade.

JIMMY OENTORO, like Eddy Leo, is a Pentecostalist on a global mission. Based partly in California, where he has close links with the expatriate Indonesian community, he has conducted crusades in South America, in Russia, in the Middle East, and in African countries like Sudan and Uganda. Like Eddy Leo, too, he is a devout believer in the American way with money and success—achieving a considerable amount of both as an entrepreneur in the publishing and music industries. In the 1980s, Jimmy Oentoro founded a ministry called the International Full Gospel Fellowship, and through this (and its global subsidiary, Living2Lead) he can claim to have pastored and inspired over 30,000 leaders in a dozen countries since 1989.(186)

Oentoro's specialty is market-place Christianity. His main concern is the promotion of a U.S.-style free enterprise system underwritten by Holy Scripture and snappy aphorism, and for this, he draws inspiration from Christian marketing gurus like John C. Maxwell, Os Hillman, and Zig Ziglar—and, of course, the work of evangelical "theorists" like C. Peter Wagner and Luis Bush. For Jimmy Oentoro, a particular influence has been Zig Ziglar, who he refers to as "the leader".(187)

Zig Ziglar is a motivational speaker, a sales consultant, and an evangelical Baptist. He founded the Zig Ziglar Corporation, a multi-billion dollar "performance enhancement" consultancy, and the Zig Ziglar Center for Ethical Leadership at Southern Nazarene University—a private Christian university in Oklahoma City. He records proudly that he came from a struggling family background, and by dint of personal effort achieved success in his marriage, his business career, and his political connections: a man of strong Republican links, Zig Ziglar has been thrice recognized in the United States Congressional Record—for his work with youth, and for his dedication to America and to the free enterprise system. His advocacy of a Christian private profit is one of Ziglar's defining attributes—and one he shares with a wide range of colleagues, including the far right Rabbi Daniel Lapin, the gambling lobbyist Jack Abramoff, the De Voses, Colin Powell, and Rudi Guiliano. In Ziglar's hands, the business of selling is about far more than just making money. It is an art form—"a dynamic blend of heart, inspiration, and cutting edge personal development technology". It is a sacred calling. It is also a patriotic duty: "Building a better you," says Ziglar, "is a first step to building a better America." And Ziglar, a sometime Amway motivator, has refined the essence of the American Way into an exquisitely sellable commodity, divinely blessed. The titles of his books explain the attraction: "See You At the Top", reads one; "Staying Up, Up, Up in a Down, Down World" reads another. It is a package that attracts some estimable customers for Ziglar—Halliburtons, A.T. & T Corporation, the Army National Guard, and Aramco amongst them. It is also a package that has attracted millions of followers amongst the urban middle classes of Africa, Asia, and Latin America—aspiring capitalists, westernized, culturally insecure, and seduced by the promise that God will open the Gates of Heaven to a good salesman.(188)

It is a message that American business promotes heavily in strategic countries like Indonesia—in close and necessary concert with its evangelical brothers, and with a vital input from local sales representatives like Jimmy Oentoro, Eddy Leo, and other native

missionary-capitalists, often recruited amongst the U.S.-domiciled immigrant community. The objective is hardly controversial: for generations, after all, it has been the task of imperial agencies to groom malleable and efficient compradors. The "leadership training" offered by the Pentecostalists (and by their evangelical Baptist counterparts) is scarcely more than this.

But Jimmy Oentoro carries a wider brief than just leadership training. His World Harvest ministry also work in disaster areas such as Aceh, and in poorer rural areas, where they have established schools and clinics, and helped with emergency housing, as part of their missionary outreach. And it is in the context of such work, perhaps understandably, that Oentoro's links with groups like James Dobson's Focus on the Family, Doug Stringer's Somebody Cares and the Global Compassion Network, and Youth With a Mission, are most heavily publicized. James Dobson, for example, professed himself to be "very proud of the work of World Harvest in Indonesia, and what has been accomplished thus far, especially in Aceh." A press release from Focus on the Family, in January, 2005, elaborated:

> "Capitalizing on its unique ability to understand and meet the needs of families worldwide, Focus hopes to raise $1 million for relief efforts, and will provide extensive grief counseling and family resources for survivors.
>
> "Focus on the Family will use its ongoing partnership with World Harvest Indonesia ... to ... provide for the distribution of 300,000 relief packets containing survival staples of food, water, medicines, plus materials to address the emotional needs of victims, including excerpts of Dobson's When God Doesn't Make Sense."(189)

At the very least, joint aid deliveries by World Harvest and Focus on the Family offered a veil of "positive" publicity over Dobson's zealous Americanism, and his strongly anti-Muslim agenda in a largely Muslim world.

But for evangelicals, such a combination of charity and zeal is both vital and necessary. In a similar fashion, **INDRI GAUTAMA**, Indonesia's only female apostle, treats the needy to her own mix of food and selected scripture. Indri Gautama's Apostolic Generation Church (which she founded in 2002) is soon to occupy the first three floors of The Kuningan Place—a purpose-built 30-storey (and three towered) building in central Jakarta. From here, she will pay special attention to the city's poor, and the victims of occasional floods. Apostle Indri is particularly exercised by the vulnerability of people in Indonesia to natural disasters: "It seems," she says, "like sixty percent of the disasters happening in the world are in Indonesia." But there is an explanation. "God has allowed this," says Indri, "so we will seek Him."

Indri Gautama is convinced that the solution to Indonesia's complex problems lies in Christianity. J. Lee Grady, writing in Charisma magazine, defines her position in the following way:

> "Part of what fuels Gautama's fire is her hatred of poverty. She abhors the fact that Indonesia is rich in natural resources, yet many of its people barely eke out an existence because of ignorance and idolatry. Her dream is to change the nation by teaching Christians to give financially while working for transformation."(190)

Indrijati Magdalena Gautama was trained by Naomi Dowdy, founder-leader of the Global Leadership Network, head of Naomi Dowdy Ministries in Dallas and until recently the Resident Apostle of Trinity Christian Centre in Singapore. There is a strong concordance between the two women: both are businesswomen (Indri Gautama disposed of a passport business and a toy factory in 1993 to go evangelizing in Sulawesi—where, in J. Lee Grady's words, "Muslims often burn churches"), and both are primarily concerned with the expansion of Christian capitalism, and Pentecostalist control, across Southeast Asia. Dowdy's Global Leadership Network is just one of over a hundred Pentecostalist (mainly Assemblies-dominated) and

Baptist agencies which provide networking, business training, and financial resources to Christian-owned businesses—and which in the process work to strengthen the hold of hard-right dominionist theology across desirable parts of the world. And in this global network, Indri Gautama has become an asset of quite strategic value.

One of her particular virtues, for her American sponsors, is her sex. She has strong links with agencies emphasizing ministry to women, such as Barbara Wentroble's International Breakthru Ministries and J. Lee Grady's Mordecai Project. Lauded in evangelical circles as "the first woman to open a Christian church" in the world's largest Muslim country, Gautama is a key figure in Assemblies of God efforts to influence non-Western societies by proselytizing their women. In Southeast Asia, the Apostolic Women Arising Movement is part of these efforts. It forms part of Wagner's New Apostolic Reformation, and hinges upon three main players—Apostle Naomi Dowdy in Singapore, Prophet Ong Sek Leang in Malaysia, and Apostle Indri Gautama in Indonesia. The movement had its first meeting in Jakarta, in 2005, and one of the founders, Barbara Wentroble, expressed with some eloquence the momentousness of the occasion:

> "The meeting date, ... immediately after the tsunami, was a prophetic action to declare a new season for women to arise ... On the heels of a mighty destructive force the Lord is calling His men and women together in unity to bring transformation to the nation."

Of course, Apostle Indri's sex is not everything. Of equal importance, to the Pentecostalists, is her dedication to U.S.-style free enterprise. And this dedication, it would seem, has an interesting history.

According to J. Lee Grady, Indri had a somewhat free-and-easy youth. After graduating from an Australian university, she moved to Hawaii, where she "moved in with a Middle Eastern man ... and

went to a lot of discos". Grady makes no mention of how such a life might have been financed. But other sources do. According to sworn testimony which appeared during a long running court case in the U.S., Hawaii had been one of the main locations, during the 1970s and 1980s, for a Pacific-wide C.I.A. operation in industrial espionage, gun-running, influence-peddling, and money laundering. There were two main vehicles for this. One was a front company, set up by the C.I.A., called Bishop, Baldwin, Rewald, Dillingham and Wong. Another was a set of joint venture companies which the C.I.A. manipulated with the help of selected wealthy nationals from various Asian countries. According to affidavits presented in court, there were four individuals thus involved: the Sultan of Brunei, the Filipino banker Enrique Zobel, Crown Prince Mohammed Saud of the United Arab Emirates—and Indri Gautama.(191)

It was about this time that Apostle Indri Gautama, in Hawaii, had "moved in with a Middle Eastern man", and was spending her evenings at the disco.

Bill and Hillary's Friends in Jakarta

In 2001, James Riady paid the US Government $8.6 million. It was the largest political fine in United States history, and it was imposed on Riady for his part in illegal contributions to the Democratic Party. James Riady, son of Mochtar Riady, was a senior executive in his father's Lippo Group and—like his father—was a friend of Bill Clinton. The friendship went back to the early eighties, when Mochtar Riady moved into Little Rock, Arkansas, and—with the help of a local financier called Jack Stephens—bought a bank. The enterprise was not a great success, and neither was a later foray into the U.S. banking world—the creation of Lippo Bank in California. Both, it seems, suffered from neglect. But to the Riadys, this was not really the point. For the banking world was a wide world, and real success lay somewhere else.

Mochtar and James Riady cultivated the friendship of Bill Clinton while he was State Governor and as he entered the campaign to become President. A former Lippo Group executive, John Huang, was moved from the Commerce Department to the Democratic National Committee, where he oversaw (and solicited) campaign contributions for the aspiring President Clinton. And both Mochtar and James Riady kept in close touch with the Clintons and their network as the election came and went, and Clinton settled into a position of power in 1992. At a crucial point, Riady's Little Rock bank extended the Clinton campaign team a loan of $3 million, and overall the Riadys and their associates made donations to the Democratic Party totaling more than $700,000. There were other expenses, too—for example, a Lippo subsidiary paid $100,000 to Webster L. Hubbell, an Associate Attorney General and one-time partner of Hillary Rodham Clinton, just before he was to testify in the Whitewater case.(192)

Once Clinton became President, the Riadys remained in influential proximity. The family business had particular interests in both Indonesia and China, and it was U.S. policy towards these two countries that the Riadys sought to affect. In 1993, Mochtar Riady urged Clinton to renew China's trade privileges, to establish formal relations with Vietnam, and to support Suharto's presence at the Group of Ten economic summit. Later, in 1996, at an Oval Office meeting, son James made a special plea for Clinton to separate China trade policy from human rights concerns. And there were other matters of concern the Riadys wished to bring to Presidential attention: for example, the question of low sulphur coal.

Lippo Group had considerable investments in the Indonesian coal industry, most of whose output was exported—partly to the U.S., where it was the only type of coal meeting the criteria of the Clean Air Standards Act. The U.S., though, had its own reserves of such coal—at least a trillion dollars worth—sitting in the ground in southern Utah. The Riadys, fearful of competition, looked on this with some consternation—but were relieved when President Clinton declared

the deposit area of Grande Escalante a "national monument", making mining unfeasible. It was a controversial decision: the head of the Council of Environmental Quality had argued that southern Utah was "not really endangered" if mining did proceed—but the Riadys' concern for the Utah landscape won the day.(193)

Such matters, however, were merely the tip of a very deep iceberg. The Clinton-Riady nexus drew in many people, both in the U.S. and overseas. Joseph Giroir, for example, was a former partner in Hillary Clinton's law firm who came to the Riadys' aid as Lippo Group's Arkansas representative, securing for the group a $1 billion deal to build a power plant in China. Another friend was Bernard Rapaport, a former University of Texas System Regents Chairman, who worked with Riady on a $2 billion Chinese real estate project which benefited in 1994 from Clinton's endorsement. And in 1996, Jim Guy Tucker, a former governor of Arkansas (and friend of James Riady) invested $6.5 million in a cable television company in Indonesia, called PT KabelVision, at Riady's invitation—with the intention of going on to develop an "internet backbone" for the country as a whole.(194) And there were others: others involved in the party funding scandal, for example, included Maria Hsia, of California's Hsi Lai Temple; Yogesh Gandhi (alleged nephew of the Mahatma); "Charlie" Trie, Ted Sioeng (who donated to both Democrats and Republicans), and Michael Brown. Much was made, during the court case, of alleged links to Communist China's intelligence services. Certainly, many of the players were ethnic Chinese, with both family and commercial interests in China; and many had contacts with the Chinese Government, as any investors in China would need to have. But the "espionage connection" was a tenuous one, and perhaps concocted largely for domestic political purposes. What mattered were rather wider and more long term considerations.

For the Riadys, and for the United States (especially under Clinton), a rapprochement with China was politically and commercially desirable. But the Riadys were not the only expatriate

Chinese with such an interest. Liem Sioe Liong, the founder and head of Indonesia's Salim Group, was—at least during the 1990s—far richer than Mochtar Riady. Liem (a.k.a. Sudono Salim) owned the country's largest flour mill, largest food company, and largest cement factory. He also had interests in banking and shipping, in healthcare (Singapore's AsiaMedic corporation), and in various enterprises in Cambodia, Vietnam, Australia, West Bengal, and China (where he had interests worth some $1 billion). Liem, too, had a deep interest in moulding U.S. policy towards countries like Indonesia, Vietnam, and China. And towards the Riadys, Liem was something of a long-term patron—he had, after all, in the 1970s, chosen Mochtar Riady to head his main banking business. In many ways, when the Riadys lobbied Clinton on the question of China—or Vietnam, or Indonesia—they were lobbying on behalf of many wealthy associates in a large and powerful disapora of overseas Chinese, based both in Southeast Asia and in the United States. To some extent (with a shrewd eye on the long-term options) they were also lobbying on behalf of the Suharto elite in Indonesia. And for the Americans, too, the engagement of men like the Riadys—with their Chinese diaspora connections—would always be a useful political standby.

The Riadys, in their own way, put something of Asia into life in America. But their influence in the opposite direction has also been strong. In more ways than one, the Riadys are evangelists. Like many wealthy Indonesians, they believe firmly in the American Way—in economics, in religion, and in lifestyle.

In 1993, Mochtar Riady opened his first planned town. Set 20 miles to the west of Jakarta (and seven minutes from the International Airport), Lippo Karawaci was a complete and largely self-sufficient city-to-be (Riady was aiming for a population of one million by 2020). It had three residential districts, its own water supply and filtration plants, its own commercial district (complete with mega shopping mall, Dunkin Donuts, Pizza Hut, and Wal-Mart), as well as a 200 room five star hotel, a 300 bed private hospital, a championship

golf course with lake and country club, an international school and two other schools, a university (opened in 1995), and an ice-skating rink. The town was also the new centre for Riady's various corporate headquarters—including AIG Life, Matahari Department Stores, Multipolar Corporation, LippoBank, Lippo General Insurance, and KabelVision Communications.

Lippo Karawaci was designed largely by a Malayan-born Scots architect called Gordon Benton. Inspiration for the project came from many sources—from the Garden City movement, from Chinese culture (principles of feng shui were accommodated, though not of Islamic architecture), and most especially from the gated estates of southern California. Above all, though, Lippo Karawaci was an expression of the great divide in Indonesia between rich and poor, and of the Americanization of the country's elite.

The separation was very deliberately planned. House prices in Lippo Karawaci went as high as $500,000—or 500 times the annual income of the average Indonesian. Of necessity, therefore, landscaping was designed to hide the surrounding sprawl of slums from the town's residents—"to keep the crap out of sight", as Benton himself put it.(195) And it was a conception with which the late Governor of Jakarta, Ali Sadikin, agreed: the poor lacked "urban rationality" and were therefore a threat to the state's modernization programme—as a consequence, the rich modernizers required gating, and the poor required constant surveillance, control, and "the strong arm of the law".(196) James Riady's family residence itself symbolizes the equation: it sits on an island in the middle of a lake, like the home of an imperial emperor, surrounded by a Jack Niklaus-designed 18-hole golf course. Symbolic, too, is the treatment of the dead. Riady's latest development is the luxury cemetery of San Diego Hills (or, from the Chinese translation, The Garden of Prosperity and Joy). Though not in close proximity to Lippo Karawaci, it is a service facility in the same spirit: costing $1.2 billion, and based upon the Forest Lawn Memorial Park, San Diego Hills offers a country club,

swimming pools, a boating lake, and a large Italian restaurant, as well as its luxury burial chambers.

But it was the town's educational establishments which perhaps best symbolize the economic—and the cultural—divide between Lippo Karawaci and the rest of Indonesia.

James Riady wanted an education system that was Christian, global, and up-to-date. So he went into partnership with Johannes Oentoro, who ran a consultancy company called Dian Edukasindo, which specialized in overseas university placement services to local students and civil servants. He also gained the close cooperation of the Lutheran Church of Missouri, which had a keen interest in Asian evangelization, especially in the field of education. Between them, Riady, Oentoro, and the LCMS devised a plan for what amounted to a complete parallel system of private education from kindergarten to Ph.D.

In 1993, the first Sekolah Pelita Harapan (or Lamp of Hope School) was established in Lippo Karawaci, geared to middle and upper income families, and catering for children from kindergarten to Grade 12. Its mission statement was "Servant Leaders With a Biblical Christian Worldview". Accredited as an International Baccalaureate centre, it was the first school in Indonesia offering English as the medium of instruction, with native speakers as teachers. Its facilities would also eventually include swimming pools, equestrian centres, and (from 2004) full wireless Internet access for pupils. Over the next five years, the system expanded to include a number of national schools for middle-income earners, called Sekolah Dian Harapan, and schools for low income earners, called Sekolah Lentera Harapan. Riady hopes eventually to develop a network of over 1,100 Christian schools—including 10 international schools, 100 middle income grade schools, and (perhaps most controversially) 1,000 schools for the poor. The expansion of these basic schools was seen by many as tantamount to evangelization of people who were not Christian, and

the programme was scaled down after 2000. However, the expansion of higher income schools has continued, and there are now at least eight in various Lippo developments around Jakarta.

The scheme being developed by Riady and Oentoro is particularly significant for the boost it gives in Indonesia to the International Baccalaureate Organization, and to the evangelical Lutherans. The I.B.O.'s curriculum, though initially developed in Switzerland, is now heavily promoted as part of the West's "global education" project. Ostensibly oecumenical and progressively inclusive, International Baccalaureate teaching fits neatly into U.S. State Department orthodoxy, and the prescriptions of groups like the Ford and Henry Luce Foundations, the International Partnership for Service Learning, and the Council of Christian Colleges and Universities (formerly the Christian College Coalition). Indeed, the programme is considered so relevant to U.S. foreign policy goals that President Bush, in 2006, authorized extra funding for International Baccalaureate initiatives—as part of his American Competitiveness Initiative. And in Indonesia, the Sekolah Pelita Harapan scheme, from its inception in 1993, has been heavily funded by groups like the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod —a group which maintains one of the most ardent ministries to the U.S. Armed Forces, and whose motto is "The Fields Are Ripe For Harvest."

James Riady's plans are central to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, in its mission to extend the dominion of English-language Christian education in Asia, to better coordinate existing Lutheran facilities, and in particular to strengthen the "leadership" role of Asian Lutheran churches for more thorough evangelization. The mission, refined into a "Strategic Plan" by the Asian Lutheran Educational Association, focuses on six key institutions: the Dar Al Kalima School in Palestine, the Concordia International School in Shanghai, Hong Kong International School, Highland Lutheran International School in Papua, and James Riady's Sekolah Pelita Harapan and Universitas Pelita Harapan. The emphasis upon Indonesia is natural, as the

Lutherans already account for one of the largest denominations in Indonesia, with some 2.5 million adherents. It is worth noting that most of these are Chinese, and that the Lutherans have a particular interest in evangelizing in China.

In 1995, Lippo Karawaci gained its university, when Universitas Pelita Harapan—Indonesia's first "cyber campus" using mobile and wireless technology—opened on a 30 hectare campus, in partnership with the Lutheran Church and with companies from the Lippo Group, as well as multinationals like Microsoft, Intel, and Toshiba. (197) The rigorously Christian and business-oriented ethos of Universitas Pelita is indicated by the credentials of its executive. Lippo Group's University Commissioner (and advisor to Universitas Pelita) is Willie Toisutta, a trustee of the International Partnership for Service Learning. Co-founder Johannes Oentoro is also director of Gleneagles Siloam Hospital—and the older brother of Jimmy Oentoro, founder of World Harvest International, with which the university often works. And the rector, Jonathan Parapak, is a former Minister of Tourism, Post, and Telecommunications, advisor to the National Defence Academy, Commissioner of Lippo E-net Insurance, and former C.E.O. of Indosat, the second largest telecommunications company in Indonesia—a company which, during 1994-95, he was largely responsible for privatizing. It is hardly surprising that, within a little over five years, Riady's university had attracted 10,000 students, and could boast that it had placed students in over fifty prestigious foreign universities, and was drawing students from over ten foreign countries.

With their vast wealth, their extensive efforts at social engineering, and their strong connections with America, the Riadys represent one of the most potent themes of modern evangelization – the co-opting, by U.S. Christians, of the commercial and political elites of Southeast Asia. The experience of Lippo Karawaci suggests the extravagance of the effort being put in to this. But not all is success. For all the claims of "self-sufficiency" that are made about such projects, reality is rather

less tidy. Lippo Karawaci has, for years, been accused of polluting the surrounding water supply—by allowing untreated and semi-treated effluent (including hospital waste from Siloam Hospital) to flow into the Sabi River. And in 1998, as the Indonesian economy was crashing, Lippo Karawaci's shopping mall was razed to the ground by rioters from the surrounding slums. In the end, no amount of landscaping, it would seem, could "keep the crap out of sight."

Chapter Eight

GOD MEN, SHAYKHS AND BELLY DANCERS or TAMING THE MUSLIM BEAST

From Maharishi Vedic City ...

FAIRFIELD, Iowa, is a small Midwestern town surrounded by pig farms, corn and soybeans. It has less than 10,000 people, most (94%) of whom are white. The median family income is about $48,000, and income per capita is around $21,000. Politically, Fairfield is inclined marginally towards the Democrats—in the 2004 Presidential Elections, 54% voted for the Kerry/Edwards ticket, 45% for Bush and Cheney. Fairfield is not a well known town. Its link with the Rock Island Line disappeared in 1972, and now it cherishes its status as "one of the top 12 places you've never heard of."

And yet Fairfield has at least two powerful global connections. First, it is the nerve centre of the late Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's Vedic empire. The Maharishi University of Management (established in 1974) sits in the town itself, complete with two large golden domes used for Yogic Flying and the practice of Siddhi-TM techniques; while just out of town lies Maharishi Vedic City, incorporated in 2001. Within these headquarters are based the various departments charged with promoting the Maharishi's plan for world peace—such

as the Invincible Defense Technology Command Center, and the 40 Ministries Governing the Global Country of World Peace.

Fairfield's second claim to global importance also relates to the business of communications. For it was from here, in the early 1990s, that a group of graduates from the Maharishi University of Management came to coordinate a highly successful assault on the world's telecommunications system, breaking the hold of the major national phone companies (especially outside the U.S.), dramatically cutting the cost of phone calls, and pioneering the "phone by Internet" revolution.

The process was sparked by the invention, in the late 1980s, of the callback device. Initially, two companies were involved. One, Telegroup, began in Fairfield in 1989 and started using the device in 1990. The other, USA Global Link, was formed in 1992. As in the case of the Telegroup team, USA Global Link's co-founders and chief executives had both trained in the techniques of Transcendental Meditation. And when USA Global Link expanded its premises on Highway 34, taking over Wooly's Gourmet Frozen Custard in the process, it built a new h.q. fully in accordance with the principles of Maharishi Sthapatya Veda.

The company did extremely well. Aimed initially at the Southeast Asian market, it soon became the largest in a field of over 200 companies, with an annual turnover by 1997 of around $1 billion—and joint control (with Telegroup) of over 50% of the world callback market. When callback technology became obsolete, the two companies adjusted by setting up a global network of strategic "switch" points to connect regional customers to the world system. And Global Link further outmanoeuvred the long distance providers by becoming the first company to enable global phone-to-phone calling via the Internet. USA Global Link created two sister companies—Global Online (1997) and Global Online India (1999)—and when the three

were successfully merged or liquidated in 2001, their aggregate market value was around $2.8 billion. (198)

The two founders, of course, became very rich men. One, Christopher Hartnett, had already made a fortune trading on the Chicago Mercantile Exchange and dealing in precious stones—becoming owner, in the process, of the world's largest heart-shaped pink emerald, weighing 169 carats. Hartnett's true worth, however, was in other things.

When his companies merged in 2001, Chris Hartnett and family controlled 85% of their value. More significant, however, was Hartnett's wealth of "intellectual property": according to ICANN, he was by 1994 the largest private owner of URLs in the world; by 2000, he was the sole owner of some 12,000 domain names, and part owner of 20,000 more—most of these being acquired between 1992 and 1996, before most people were aware of the Internet and its potential. Unsurprisingly, Hartnett also became chairman of Tedhens Ltd (www.Tedhens.com), the oldest and biggest provider of international domain names on the Internet—serving global insurance, e-commerce, exchange, banking, and organic and jewellery businesses with "world-class, one-of-a-kind" domain names.

In addition to such commercial wealth, Chris Hartnett has a deep and abiding commitment to that other source of Fairfield's fame—the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's project for World Peace. Having graduated from the Maharishi University of Management, Hartnett became a member of the sect's executive—with the responsibilities of Minister Governing the Global Country of World Peace, and Chairman of the Global Central Bank. Hartnett is a complex man: he is a stock market millionaire and accomplished gemologist; he is (according to the Financial Times) "the father of Internet telephony and VOIP technologies" and (according to Telephony Online) founder of "the most insidious callback company of all"; and he is also a Vedic scholar

and elite member of a cult promoting meditation and levitation as the way to world peace. (199)

According to Maharishi University researchers, the "Maharishi Effect" has been tested successfully in a number of countries—including Israel, Lebanon, Mozambique, and Brazil. In all cases, it is claimed, a combination of Yogic Flying and unified and directed consciousness has measurably reduced the level of violence. To believers, the science is incontestable: Yogic Flying, according to Craig Pearson, Maharishi University's Executive Vice-President, "... is the only scientifically validated solution to ending terrorism and creating world peace." The case is more eloquently made by Bevan Morris, of M.U.M.'s Program of World Peace:

> "The powerful, integrating, harmonizing, peace-creating effects of .... Vedic peace performances will mean that the enmity and hatred will be turned into harmony and friendship—and peace perpetual will reign on earth ...
>
> "... The US needs now to dissolve violence and tension in national consciousness through 8,000 Yogic Flyers in the Golden Domes and in new Super Domes in Maharishi Vedic City. This too will prevent the birth of any enemy to the nation, and avert all national disasters before they arise."

But for Chris Hartnett, there was another (and rather less ethereal) way of reducing the world's violence:

> "The Maharishi used to tell me," says Hartnett, "that if you sit down with people and you make money together and they are your friends, you don't bomb them, you don't go kill them. By breaking the telecommunications monopoly our company was able to help foster communications between people. When you can communicate for 2-3 cents a minute around the world ... people

can form bonds and relationships and start making money together. When you can do that you can eliminate a lot of conflict."

... To the Battlegrounds of Java

It was a sentiment that Chris Hartnett's business partner, C. Holland Taylor, couldn't disagree with. The co-founder of USA Global Link, Taylor was also a keen follower of the Maharishi's ideas —especially on the benefits of Transcendental Meditation. Taylor, the son of a U.S. Army lawyer, was born a Moravian Christian but—like Hartnett—moved away from his Christian roots towards a more mystical and eclectic view of spirituality. Taylor's grounding, however, was very much in the mould of Christian free enterprise economics. Perhaps this was hardly surprising, given the environment of his youth.(200)

Taylor's home town of Winston-Salem, more than any other place in the United States, embodied the tight nexus between the country's banking and tobacco industries—and the role within this of the Moravian Christian minority. The town's wealth depended heavily upon two home-grown companies—R.J.Reynolds Tobacco (makers of Winston, Salem, Camel, and Pall Mall cigarettes), and Wachovia Bank and Trust (the fourth largest bank in the United States). In both, the interests of the Moravian community were tightly woven.

The family of John Wesley Hanes is a case in point. At the turn of the 20th century, John Wesley Hanes owned a tobacco company and a hosiery mill. The hosiery business stayed in the family, collaborated with Dupont to produce the first pantyhose, and was eventually sold to Sara Lee. The tobacco interest, meanwhile, was sold much earlier on—for $1 million—to R.J. Reynolds. However, the family continued to maintain an interest in the acquiring company through various directorships, as well as through the stake held in R.J.Reynolds by Wachovia Bank, of which John Wesley's son, Robert,

was for a long time Director and President —by the 1970s, Wachovia Bank (itself a creation of two Moravian Christians, William A. Lemly and Francis H. Fries) was the tobacco company's main shareholder. The R.J.Reynolds empire, meanwhile, evolved over the years with various takeovers and spin-offs—absorbing, and often reselling, such companies as Del Monte Foods, SEA-LAND Services (at one stage the largest container shipping operation in the world, with major contracts supplying the US Army in Vietnam), American Independent Oil Corporation, and Nabisco.

It was within such a setting that Taylor served his apprenticeship, mixing with other—and much wealthier—members of the local Moravian Christian community, such as the Fries and the Hanes. After gaining degrees from the University of North Carolina and from Princeton (both in Germanic Languages), he went into business, travelled extensively in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia—and eventually linked up with Chris Hartnett, and USA Global Link, in Fairfield, Iowa.

Above all a businessman, Taylor wrote two books on the subject of doing good business. The first, A Christian Guide to Prosperity, was published in 1984, and co-written with Michael Fries and Ron Sunseri. Ron Sunseri, a Republican and sometime congressman from Taylor's hometown, was known as a libertarian rightwinger "so far right he's hard to take seriously". (Willamette Week, Portland) Sunseri's particular interest, apart from real estate, was Outcome Based Education—which he strongly opposed on libertarian grounds in a book called "Outcome-Based Education: Understanding the Truth About Educational Reform", published in 1994.

Taylor's second book on doing good business, A Prosperity Handbook, also came out in 1984—its publication funded by Bernard Oliver, founder and director of Hewlett Packard Research Laboratories. Besides libertarian economics, Taylor and Oliver shared an interest in electronics, particularly in the field of communications, and in

the understanding of computer language. Oliver's own specialties were in microwave and optoelectronic technologies. He developed the process of "pulse code modulation" (a form of digital signaling technology), and headed the team which developed the HP personal calculator. He also had a deep interest in making contact with extra-terrestrial life (particularly through optoelectronics), and helped lay the groundwork for the SETI (or Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence) project—as well as co-funding the Extra Solar Planetary Foundation's search for other planetary systems. Indeed, his fascination with outer space was given tangible expression when a 20 kilometre wide asteroid, discovered in 1960, was named 2177 Oliver in his honour.

C. Holland Taylor's business career peaked with the success of USA Global Link. But the company also gained considerably from Taylor's particular involvement in the culture and politics of Southeast Asia, one of Global Link's most important markets. Taylor's presence as Chief Executive Officer was especially helpful during the mid-1990s in negotiations with the Singapore and Indonesian governments over Global Link's undercutting of overseas call rates. After an abortive attempt to buy out the company and shut it down, the Singapore Government eventually lowered its call rates. At about the same time, Indonesia's main provider of international telecommunications services, PTT Indosat (part-owned by a Singapore state company), purchased a 20% stake in USA Global Link for $20 million and the two companies joined forces. As part of the deal, C. Holland Taylor became a director of Indosat.

In this way, in a strategic sector, the symbiosis was significantly strengthened between US corporate interests and Southeast Asia's "modernizing" elites. It was a symbiosis of particular importance in the case of Indonesia, as the country slipped into the confusion of Suharto's last years. The state telecommunications system had just been privatized, opposition forces were exploring the potential of the Internet, and the US government was applying pressure—both open

and covert—to influence the succession. It was a time of considerable interest to C. Holland Taylor.(201)

For Taylor and Hartnett, the call-back system had always been just a part of a long-term telecoms strategy. It provided an entry point for moving into hitherto tightly regulated—and potentially extremely lucrative—non-Western markets. It also provided a platform for diversifying operations within these markets, as the regulatory framework weakened and as technologies diversified into other forms of call set-up and transmission. For such reasons, the alliance between Global Link and PT Indosat, the first ever between a PTT and a call-back company, was a strategic and momentous step for all concerned. In particular, it marked a crucial stage in tying together the technological threads of U.S.-led "globalization".(202)

In this, Taylor was strategically placed. Throughout the 1990s, he was at the forefront of the entire deregulation process. He had a longterm position on the Board of the Telecommunications Resellers Association (or CompTel/ASCENT); he was Vice-Chairman of the European Competitive Telecommunications Association; and he was advisor to the U.S. State Department and to the Secretary General of the International Telecommunications Union. Telecommunications, however, were not Taylor's only specialty.

In 1998, C. Holland Taylor left USA Global Link and moved to Indonesia. He settled in Java, where his affinity with Eastern spirituality had led him to the study of "Javanese Sufism". For the next few years, details of Taylor's life are sketchy. But he had clearly been working hard.

Libforall, Lighthouse for the Muslim World

The burden of those quiet years became clear in 2003, when Taylor announced the formation of Libforall Foundation.(203) As

part of the Global Counter-Extremism Network, Taylor's new body would be dedicated to the particular task of "discrediting terrorism" by fostering more liberal styles of Islam and working for religious pluralism—especially in the Muslim world.(204) In Taylor's own words, Libforall's mission was:

> " ... to encourage the growth of peaceful, tolerant, and free societies—built upon a foundation of civil and economic liberty and the rule of law—in order to reduce religious extremism and discredit the use of terrorism worldwide."

It was a mission, said Taylor, that his corporate experience well qualified him to undertake. There was, he said, an obvious parallel between what he achieved with USA Global Link, and what he hoped to achieve with Libforall Foundation:

> "What we did then was liberate telecom users around the world with a different model" that took advantage of existing networks. "I want to take what I've learned in my previous exploration ... and apply that to the biggest threat facing global society today."

Thus, in the same way that Global Link helped to free telecommunications from the bonds of tight regulatory regimes and state monopoly, Libforall would try to link moderate Islamic leaders in a network of "lighthouses within the Islamic world" that would promote tolerance and freedom of thought and worship. The foundation would have two headquarters—one in Winston-Salem, North Carolina (Taylor's home town), and one on the island of Java. The choice of Java was a strategic one, for Javanese Islam was an especially relaxed and inclusive kind of Islam, diametrically opposed to the strict exclusivity of Wahabism and the Islam of Middle Eastern-based activism. It was such a version of Islam that Taylor sought to diffuse, just as he had helped—in his corporate life—to spread the gospel of free enterprise and the American Way. Indeed, it could well be argued, the two crusades were one and the same thing.

Libforall began its life with a Board of Directors consisting of four men, two American, two Indonesian. Taylor's American colleague on the board was F. Borden Hanes Jr, Vice Chairman of the Board with Bowen, Hanes, and Co., Investment Counsellors, Chair of the John Wesley and Anna Hodgin Hanes Foundation, and a member of the Old Salem Foundation. Hanes' pedigree was ideal for the job: his father had interests in the Brenner Iron Metal Co., in shopping mall development, and in farming; his grandfather was President of the Wachovia Bank; and his greatgrandfather was John Wesley Hanes.

Taylor's two Indonesian co-directors were, in their own ways, just as interesting. Abdurrahman Wahid was President of Indonesia for brief time—before resigning in 2000 after complaints of inefficiency and corruption. Also known as "Gus Dur", Wahid is a member of the moderate Nahdlatul Ulama party, a long-time member of the Shimon Peres Peace Institute, and founder of the Gus Dur Foundation, established in 2005 to run orphanages, schools, libraries, and "scientific seminars"—and allegedly a front for those seeking to reinstate US military aid to Indonesia.(205) Wahid is also patron of the Wahid Institute, which was set up in 2006 and briefly shared the same address as the Foundation. The Wahid Institute, dedicated to promoting "a moderate and tolerant view of Islam", is directed by Wahid's daughter Yenni—a Harvard graduate with "a smile that could melt a Hershey bar at 100 yards" (according to the Wall Street Journal), and with clear views about her country's biggest problem—the problem, she says, of too many young clerics chasing too few jobs:

> "The market for these preachers is quite limited, and you get to be the top preacher by being the preacher with the sexy message. A sexy message can be very inflammatory: "Christians are the ones that created all these problems for you guys—kill them!" Friday prayer is an obligation for men, so it has become a very effective medium to propagandize with preachings that are just very, very hateful toward non-Muslims."(206)

Yenni's solution—a network of young and liberal-minded clerics, a new "tolerant and peaceful Islam"—is a solution that resonates strongly with middle-class (and especially non-Muslim) Indonesians, with Western investors and Western governments, and with C. Holland Taylor's Libforall Foundation. It is a solution epitomized by the choice of the fourth member of Taylor's board.

Ahmad Dhani is a symbolic figure in a number of ways. He is a pop singer whose group, Dewa, includes a Christian as lead vocalist. He has an interest in Sufism. His father was a conservative Muslim, a member of the "hardline" Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, who married a convert from Catholicism—and his grandfather, too, was a member of one of the most conservative Muslim parties in Indonesian politics, the outlawed Dar ul-Islam. In other words, Dhani represents perfectly the reformation that Taylor and his foundation are seeking to achieve, both within Indonesia and throughout the Muslim world as a whole. Because of this, he has been adopted as a kind of roving ambassador for the Libforall agenda—and a catalyst for transforming Muslim youth culture, on a global scale, through the music industry.

Like its Board of Directors, Libforall's management team also reveals an interesting combination of talents. Taylor's Vice President, for example, is Ravi Krishnamurthy, an electronics engineer, business motivator, and faculty member of the Oneness University. Born in Chennai, India, Krishnamurthy gained 32nd place amongst the 80,000 candidates for the All-India IIT entrance exam, before proceeding to a Bachelor's degree in Electronics from the Indian Institute of Technology in Madras, and a Ph.D. in Electrical Engineering from a New York Polytechnic Institute. He pursued a career in electronics (securing 18 patents for various inventions), and established himself as a business motivator, a kind of Hindu Dale Carnegie.(207)

Krishnamurthy, says Libforall, has "a profound grasp of the essence of Islam." He certainly has a grasp of the essence of Nonduality, as his own publicity makes clear. Krishnamurthy's

business philosophy derives considerable inspiration from his attachment to the Oneness University, and the beliefs of its founder Sri Bhagawan. Sri Bhagawan, born Vijay Kumar, apparently had a strange and introspective boyhood: his only concern, he said, from a young age, was how to give mankind total freedom. He eventually claimed that he was the first incarnation of God in 20,000 years, and would be able to release at least 64,000 people into supreme enlightenment within his own lifetime. Popular with many Americans (the actress Meg Ryan is a follower), Sri Bhagawan's movement is not without its critics. Known as the Kalki Movement until 2002, it has been accused of authoritarianism, charlatanism, and greed—and has been likened by some to certain cultish forms of Pentecostalism. Ravi Krishnamurthy, as a follower of Sri Bhagawan, claims to be "an active Deeksha Giver" towards permanent enlightenment—"Deeksha Giving", now known as "Oneness Blessing" being the transfer of spiritual energy to the neocortex of the brain, leading to a state of mindless joy. But Krishnamurthy has a sterner side. He is also active on the global counter-terrorism circuit. He has presented expert papers to conferences organized by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the European Commission, the European Union, the National Homeland Defense Foundation, and the UN Alliance of Civilizations—as well as to the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, a counter-terrorism consultancy which provides on-campus counter-terrorism training, and fellowships to study counter-terrorism in both the U.S. and Israel.

Besides Krishnamurthy, Libforall's management team includes Sonia Sri Suryani, a businesswoman from Java, as Director of Finance; Ahmad Gaus, religious scholar and editor, as Director of Publications, and Hodri Ariev, an Islamic studies scholar, as Programs Director. Much of the Indonesian work is coordinated through Libforall's think-tank, the Nur al-Hikmah Society, which Hodri Ariev directs, and which is supported by a Board of Advisors consisting of a number of liberal scholar-administrators from State Islamic Universities, a Jesuit academic, and political scientists with a

Singapore academic background. A key task is the production and distribution of "liberal" Islamic literature, especially historical texts which celebrate moderate or mystical heroes—for example, Bahad Tanah Jawi (Story of the Land of Java) which deals with a 16th century mystic "who defeated an earlier generation of militant extremists who were very much like Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda.". In addition to this, Libforall produces media resources—such as a 30-lesson video series called "What Is Islam?", defining a "pluralist" view of Islam—for distribution amongst Indonesia's thousands of Islamic boarding schools and madrassahs.

Libforall's agenda, essentially, is the "Americanization" of Islam. It is an agenda that dovetails neatly into a wider Western strategy of containing the Muslim world economically, politically, and culturally. As with the wider strategy, Libforall's work is predicated upon the view that "Islamic terror" is at the root of most global insecurity and most major eruptions of violence. In the battle thus defined, Libforall's particular contribution is cultural penetration, especially of Indonesia—entering through the country's universities and schools, literature, television, the music industry, moderate political movements such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, and "interfaith" networking at various levels of local and global involvement. In particular, the group claims to be working to counter the influence of "Salafi radicalism" with promotion of a more "pluralist", syncretic, and mystical version of Islam—similar to that which prevails on the island of Java. Javanese Islam, in other words, is a "manageable" Islam: an Islam that is less of a challenge to Western conceptions of political "liberalism", religious pluralism, and free market economics—and an Islam that might, if it is properly packaged, bring brightness to the rest of the Muslim world. Javanese Islam is Libforall's most promising "lighthouse".

Miles Copeland and the Republic of Love

So Libforall's reach is far wider than Indonesia, and far wider than schools and madrassahs. Its strategists are nothing if not holistic in their approach. The group's penetration of the Muslim world's music industry is a case in point. Clearly, any project of mass social engineering must focus strongly on youth culture—and especially popular music.(208) In Indonesia, the agents of change are mainly Ahmad Dhani and Dewa 19. Dhani was "adopted" in 2001, when he fell under the influence of a mystery "spiritual advisor" who he declines to name.

Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani

Dhani's "spiritual advisor" is in fact Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani, a Lebanese-American cleric who moved to the United States in 1991. The Shaykh soon became one of the State Department's main Muslim consultants, and an important envoy throughout the 1990s and the "War on Terror"—travelling to such countries as Uzbekistan, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia to meet with senior politicians, and negotiate on behalf of the U.S. Shaykh Hisham founded the Islamic Supreme Council of America, the Alliance for Islamic Culture and Arts, and the American branch of the Haqqani Educational Foundation of America. He is the Director of the Naqshbandi-Haqqani Sufi Order of America, which owns 13 Sufi "retreats", including the farm in Michigan where Dhani was instructed. The shaykh's particular attraction to Americans is his teaching of the Sufi science of Self-Realization, and his condemnation of "extremists" in the Muslim world.

Shaykh Hisham was strongly criticized by many Muslim groups in the United States for being too close to the State

> Department and, in effect, anti-Muslim: his condemnation of "extremism" amongst Muslims was so comprehensive that most groups felt they had been included. When challenged, the shaykh was unable to name the groups he was referring to. Following the criticism, Robert Seiple intervened in his capacity as Clinton's Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom and asked U.S. Muslims to end their "de facto boycott' of the shaykh. Seiple, for many years president of World Vision, succeeded in making things worse. (209)

Since this "adoption", Dhani has served a domestic role countering the influence of radical Islam amongst young people, particularly with songs like "Laskar Cinta" (Warriors of Love), which uses lyrics of a Sufi-Christian bent to oppose the rather sterner sentiments of groups such as Laskar Jihad. But Libforall's promotion of Dhani, in itself, is of little consequence. For Dhani is only a small part of a global effort, by Libforall and others, to co-opt youth culture in the Muslim world—in particular, by bringing together musicians from Pakistan, the Middle East, North Africa, Europe, and North America, to promote a highly westernized expression of "popular Muslim culture." In a sense, the effort is hardly new: Western business long ago saw the market potential of connecting advertising with pop music—as the Salem pop concerts, promoted by RJReynolds during the sixties and seventies, demonstrate. What is certainly new is the studied targeting of young Muslims. And in this, Libforall—and similar groups—are busy connecting and promoting a global and carefully aimed counter-culture of considerable potential.

Apart from Dhani, the network has adopted numerous groups in Pakistan, such as the "Sufi Rock" band Junoon, and a group called Aaroh, which recently won a Pepsi-sponsored rock music competition. Within the Middle East (or amongst Middle Eastern émigré groups) there are musicians such as Cheb I Sabbah, Bassam Saba (Lebanon), Kazem Al Sahir (Iraq), Simon Shaheen (Palestine) the Algerian

vocalist Cheb Khaled and others. The power of music as an agent of change within Muslim societies is only now being realized—as the Muslim world becomes more cosmopolitan, more diverse, and more modern. And as the hold of tradition weakens amongst younger Muslims—especially in attitudes to music—the political potential, as well as the market potential, of Muslim entertainment is becoming obvious.

The situation was succinctly summarized by the Lebanese-American music entrepreneur Dawn Elder. The Muslim music industry in America, says Elder, "is about making music to help Americans to humanize the Middle East and keeping American pop growing and evolving." Elder is well-qualified for such an outreach.(210) Her agency, Dawn Elder Management, has on its books most of the best-selling artists in the modern North African and Arab music scene, and she has had considerable experience in the promotion of hybridized music, bringing together such artists with Westerners like Paul McCartney, Sarah Brightman, Quincy Jones, the Beach Boys, Sting, and Stevie Wonder. Elder is also vice-president of the record company Ark 21/Mondo Melodia, founded in 1998 by Miles Copeland III, one of the leading promoters of North African and Middle Eastern music in the United States. Copeland, who grew up in Beirut, where he attended the American School, has a special interest in music and dance from the Muslim World, and has produced the work of most of the modern popular artists of the region—harnessing, in the process, a number of exiled exponents of such "protest" forms as Algerian 'rai' music, and drawing them into the wider mélange of multicultural pop. One Copeland protégé in this project is the Algerian rai singer Cheb Mami, who joined the ex-Police singer Sting for a "Middle Eastern"-style ditty called "Desert Rose"—which went on to advertize Jaguar cars for the Ford Corporation. Copeland is also a strong champion of the role of female artistes as innovators in a "freer" Islamic culture. This latter cause may have had something to do with Copeland's creation, in 2003, of The Belly Dance Superstars—a troupe of dancers, of mixed ethnicity,

who perform what is known as American Tribal Style Belly Dance. The Belly Dance Superstars, whose performance includes "gothic", Polynesian, and fire dancing, were brought by Copeland to Bali, in 2003, for the World Peace Concert. Miles Copeland has considerable experience both with corporate sponsorship (his belly dancers have the sponsorship of entities such as Motorola, Capezio, and Estee Lauder) and with "subversive" music—during the 1970s, he was the promoter largely responsible for making punk rock a marketable commodity (in the process managing The Sex Pistols, The Police, and The Clash). And subversion, for the Copelands, is something of a family business.

Miles Copeland Senior

Miles' father, Miles Axe Copeland, was a jazz musician who played in a number of bands, including that of Glenn Miller. He was also a founder-member of the O.S.S., and helped to found the C.I.A. He was for some 30 years one of the C.I.A.'s most energetic agents in the Middle East—brokering U.S. relations with Egypt during the Suez Crisis, helping to reverse them when Nasser turned to the Soviet Union, managing the agency's Saddam Hussein in the 1960s, and dealing with the Iranian Government over the hostage deal in 1979 to ensure the defeat of President Carter. (211)

Miles Senior was especially interested in the use of religion as a subversive tool. When Nasser disappointed the Americans by turning to the U.S.S.R., the CIA countered with a black propaganda campaign against "Soviet ungodliness", planting anti-Islamic literature (including the title 'Mohammed Never Existed') and blaming the Soviet Embassy. More significantly, the agency sought to foster an Islamic make-weight to Nasser's secular "Arabism". The CIA, said Copeland, needed a "religious spellbinder" who would shape Arab opinion and "divert the

growing stream of anti-American hostility." In Copeland's words:

> "I wanted to find and groom a messiah who would start out in Egypt, and then spread his word to Africans and perhaps other Third World peoples. Our Chosen One would immunize them against false prophets"

In his search for a "Muslim Billy Graham" who would turn Third World peoples against Nasser and other non-aligned leaders like Sukarno, Miles Copeland turned to leaders of the Ikhwan (or Muslim Brotherhood), a group strongly opposed to both Arab nationalism and communism—and in so doing he sowed the seeds of a clandestine relationship between the CIA and the Ikhwan which would last for decades to come.

Copeland's interest in the political value of religion was wide-ranging. As head of the CIA's Political Action Staff, he oversaw a programme called OHP—or "occultism in high places". This, according to Copeland, was "a theory of political activism based on an impressively detailed study of ways in which leaders of the world based their judgements on one form or another of divine guidance." The programme sought to "plant astrologists on certain world leaders" and to deploy "mystics" amongst US government politicians, using CIA-designed "voodoo magic" to manipulate Congressmen. In addition to this, the programme adopted the Moral Rearmament movement and the Church of Scientology as "useful secret channels right into the minds of leaders... in Africa and Asia."

> "We were on our way," wrote Copeland, "to having a political action capability which would make the highly expensive, largely ineffective, and largely "covert action" of Bill Casey's CIA seem trivial by comparison. 'MRA will hit 'em high,

> and... Scientology will hit 'em low,' Bob (Mandlestam) liked to boast. And he was right."
>
> (*The Game Player: Confessions of the CIA's Original Political Operative.*)

Not surprisingly, Elder's business is both highly commercial and intensely political, and not surprisingly Libforall and Elder have gone into partnership. Apart from marketing Dhani and his "Laskar Cinta", the partnership aims to connect and synergize a much wider array of talents in the fight to co-opt radicalism in youth culture—especially within Muslim societies, both in the U.S. and elsewhere. The formula used combines modern styles, such as rock, hip hop, and dance music (as opposed to more traditional styles like "nasheed"), with traditional instruments, spiritual lyrics, and multi-ethnic groups—embracing U.S. Arab, Lebanese, Algerian Jewish, Egyptian and West African Muslim musicians, together with Western sympathizers such as Sting and Sarah Brightman. The message is strongly mystical, "Sufi", and Judeo-Christian—and ostensibly "unpolitical". The result—a "globalized", Americanized form of "Muslim culture" —will, hopefully, both sell profitably to a variety of audiences and deflect youthful activism from more serious concerns.

Put crudely, the Libforall agenda is merely a continuation of the process pursued for decades by various arms (both official and covert) of the U.S. Government: that is, the cultural subversion of strategically positioned foreign markets. But with a modern variation. The Libforall agenda is targeted almost wholly at Muslims, and at the Muslim mass media. And it is certainly not only music, or the creative arts generally, that concerns Libforall and its associates.

The Rabbis Come to Bali

At the heart of relations with the Muslim world sits the enduring and nigh-insoluble problem of Israel. Naturally enough, therefore, the problem of Israel also lies at the heart of Libforall's prescription for a "peaceful and tolerant world". And, more specifically, its plans for Indonesia.

For decades, Israel has maintained covert links with the Indonesian government: Mossad maintains a major presence in Jakarta under cover of a business office, Israel trains Indonesian army officers in "anti-terrorist methods", and the two governments have, since the late 1960s, both shared intelligence and traded military equipment—in the late 1980s, apparently, Israel sold Indonesia 28 U.S.-made Skyhawk fighters, and Israeli companies are currently competing for a major contract to built an airforce training base in Sumatera. Indonesia, therefore, features significantly in Israel's strategic plans for eastern Asia—both as part of an arms trade network in the region which also ties in Singapore, Cambodia, and China, and (perhaps more importantly) as "the world's largest Muslim country."(212)

For years, the Israelis had courted Indonesian support for the Zionist state and for its Middle East policy. And while they had not managed to win the official recognition they craved, they had at least made some influential friends.. One of these was Abdurrahman Wahid. Wahid had been a keen admirer of the Israeli way long before he joined Libforall in 2003—he had been a member of the Shimon Peres Peace Institute since 1984, he had twice visited Israel (once to launch the Shimon Peres Peace Institute's Jerusalem office, and to visit the grave of Yitzhak Rabin), and he had expressed admiration for "Israel's experience in ... managing diverse ethnic populations." And the compliment had been returned: Yitzhak Rabin had visited Indonesia in 1993, and Shimon Peres had made an unheralded visit to Jakarta in 2000.(213)

It was Libforall's task to follow up such precedents, as part of the U.S.-Israeli attempt to validate the Zionist state with official recognition from a large Muslim country. Libforall would stress the interfaith dimension of such a recognition, as part of a multi-pronged publicity onslaught launched in 2006: thus, in June 2006, a delegation from Kadin (the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce) visited Israel; in October 2007, a group of Indonesian journalists paid another visit (this time brokered by the AIJAC and the AJC); meanwhile, Libforall joined up with the Simon Weisenthal Center to co-host the Bali Holocaust Summit in June 2007, and arranged a visit to Israel by five Indonesian religious leaders in December of the same year.(214)

The Holocaust Summit was said to be a riposte to comments made by President Ahmedinajad of Iran—a multifaith effort to counter extremism with a message of tolerance and moderation. Jointly sponsored by Libforall, the Wahid Institute, and the Simon Weisenthal Center's Museum of Tolerance, the summit featured participants from Nahdlatul Ulama and Mohammadiyah, a Protestant pastor and a Jesuit seminarian from Indonesia, four members of the Simon Weisenthal Center, the Vice President of Soka Gakkai, and a Hindu god-man. It was a cross section of sorts. But all was not quite what it seemed. Indeed, the participants already seemed to have a great deal in common.

The two moderators of the summit were Rabbi Abraham Cooper, director of the SWC's Museum of Tolerance, and Dr Alfred Balitzer, Chairman of Pacific Research and Strategies Inc. Rabbi Cooper, who is also associate dean of the Simon Weisenthal Center and is on the U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, is described by the Center as a "pioneer and international authority on issues related to digital hate and the Internet". Rabbi Cooper believes that the Internet has been misappropriated by extremists—especially anti-Semites and Islamic fundamentalists. Because of this, Rabbi Cooper argues, the Internet should be subject to much firmer control, especially by the

U.S. and Israeli authorities, as a mark of their commitment to greater tolerance.(215)

Dr Alfred Balitzer is a rather more colourful character. Presented as a Senior Fellow of Claremont Graduate University (a private college specializing in Government and Economics), he also sits on the Board of the Private Sector Initiative Foundation, and on the Board of Trustees of the American Academy for Liberal Education, the agency responsible for accrediting private charter schools in the U.S. His experience in politics is considerable: as Director of the Republican National Committee under Reagan, he played a key role during the 1980 and 1984 elections; he was also a member of Lyn Nofziger's White House Staff on Political Affairs, a "special ambassador" to Brunei, and an important political broker in establishing diplomatic relations between China and Israel. Since the 1980s, Balitzer has been a regular contributor to the Republican Party coffers, and in 2004 he was a delegate at the party's National Convention.

A political scientist, Balitzer was briefly (between 2001 and 2003) Dean of Faculty for Soka University of America—a private college financed by the Japanese Soka Gakkai sect. Forced to resign following accusations of intolerance towards staff, he remains a strong sympathizer of the Soka Gakkai movement, and counts its Chairman, Daisaku Ikeda, as a good friend. He is also a businessman, and Chairman of the Boards of two companies: one, Aura Systems Inc., supplies mobile power generators to the U.S. Army; the other, Pacific Research and Strategies Inc., is a public relations consultancy specializing in the Pacific Rim. In this latter capacity, Balitzer acts as consultant to the Simon Weisenthal Center, where he is responsible for "forging its programs in Washington D.C. and Asia." The "Bali Holocaust Summit" was just such a program.(216)

The gathering was arranged to serve a number of objectives. It would tap neatly into the iconography of the "War on Terror", by underlining the link between Islam and violence—in New York; in

the Middle East, and on the island of Bali itself; by stressing the role of Western liberalism as victim; and by identifying "Islamofascism" with Nazism and the European Holocaust. It would also serve the particular interests of Israel in East Asia—obscuring its deep involvement in the region's arms trade with a show of victimhood. And it would provide a focus for a range of pro-Western activists to come together, to tighten their agenda—especially in relation to handling Islam and Muslims—and to produce some useful publicity for the cause. It was the kind of exercise that Alfred Balitzer and Rabbi Abraham Cooper were familiar with, as past presenters of the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Holocaust exhibition in such countries as Japan (1995) and India (2003).

There were two other SWC representatives at Bali—Rabbi Daniel Landes, Director of the Pardes Institute of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem, and Sol Teichman, a "Holocaust survivor dignitary". Teichman, a wealthy industrialist whose company is one of the largest suppliers of store fixtures in the U.S., has been a regular participant, with Balitzer and Cooper, in the SWC's Holocaust events. His own family—"the largest grain and bean distributor in 1930s Europe", according to the Jewish Journal—lost 70 members during Nazi rule, and Teichman's task is to recount this personal experience, as a way of highlighting the dangers of intolerance and the slide into fascism.

Religious tolerance and pluralism were at the heart of the Bali message.(217) It was appropriate, therefore, that all religions were represented. Islam was represented by a number of people closely involved with Libforall, and Libforall's two preferred political parties in Indonesia: apart from Abdurrahman Wahid and his daughter Yeni, there was Abdul Munir Mulkhan and Dr Syafi'i Ma'arif of Mohammadiyah, and Haji Yusuf Chudlori of Nahdlatul Ulama. The Christian Church attended in the shape of a local Protestant pastor and Dr Franz Magnis-Suseno, the German Jesuit Director of Graduate Studies at Driyakarya Seminary, and of course Taylor himself. And last, but certainly not least, Buddhism was represented by Yoichi Kawada,

the Vice President of Soka Gakkai International, and Hinduism was embodied both by the locale of Bali, and by His Holiness Sri Sri Ravi Shankar, founder of the Art of Living movement.

For the visitors, at least, the conclave was not a first meeting of minds. Balitzer's connection to Soka Gakkai, for example, was a long standing one—he was a close friend of key members of the movement, had taught in their college, and had arranged the 1995 Holocaust exhibition, in Hiroshima, with their help. They were certainly useful to know: their Chairman, Daisaku Ikeda, had personally built up the fourth largest political party in Japan, the New Komitei, and for some years had used its influence (and its 7.5 million supporters) to keep the Liberal Democrats in power. Soka Gakkai, however, is not a mainstream Buddhist organization. Considered, both in Japan and beyond, to be something of a cult, it has been criticized for authoritarianism, fraud, and covert surveillance tactics—as well as for its plan to make Japan a strictly Buddhist country. Ikeda, too, is not without his critics: a wealthy businessman, he is variously known as a tyrant, a despot, and a democrat—and is considered by some to be the modern incarnation of Buddha himself. Nevertheless, Soka Gakkai has considerable appeal to many in the West, with its stress on "inner peace" and "oneness", and its non-violent approach to solving the world's problems—encapsulated in its ritual of "chanting for peace."(218)

The SWC delegation were also familiar with His Holiness Sri Sri Ravi Shankar. Indeed, Sri Sri Ravi Shankar is a figure who can hardly be missed. Wherever there is violent conflict, Sri Sri Ravi Shankar's Art of Living Foundation is on hand to reduce stress levels through the arts of deep breathing and meditation. There are currently (or have recently been) AOL programmes in Sri Lanka (for the Tamil Tigers), in Kashmir (for Muslim militants), in Iraq (for both combatants and civilians), in Bihar (for Naxalites), as well as in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Israel, Lebanon, Kosovo—and maximum security prisons in the United States. Essentially, Sri Sri Ravi Shankar is a kind of spiritual

subcontractor to both the Israeli Government and the U.S. State Department—and to any other government seeking palliative cover for armed political rigour, especially against dissidents. But there is an even darker side to Sri Sri Ravi Shankar.

The god-man's published utterances lay great stress on non-violence and the peaceful resolution of conflict. However, according to Financial Times writer Edward Luce, Sri Sri Ravi Shankar is closely associated with at least two Hindu extremist organizations—the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the Vishva Hindu Parishad. He is also close to Narendra Modi, the Gujarat Chief Minister widely believed to have orchestrated the massacre of Muslims in 2003. In addition to this, the guru's web of affiliates hardly suggests a keen sense of religious pluralism.

Sri Sri Ravi Shankar's marble headquarters sit in Bangalore, perhaps better known as India's "Silicon Valley". In Bangalore, too, sits the Sri Sri Centre for Media Studies, blessed by the Master in 2001 and directed by his official biographer, a French journalist (and resident of the Sri Aurobindo-inspired Auroville) called Francois Gautier. Gautier is a single-minded admirer of all things Hindu, and a campaigner for the recognition of a "Vedic Holocaust"—something he associates even-handedly with both British colonialism and Muslim tyranny (both before and after British rule). In pursuit of this project, Gautier has mounted exhibitions throughout the world on such subjects as Aurangzeb's persecution of Hindus, the plight of the Kashmiri Pandits, and the Hindu Genocide in Bangladesh. Much of Gautier's writing is published by the "Hinduist" group Hindu Janajagruti Samiti, and one such piece—called "Will Islam Convert Itself?"—illustrates the kind of thinking that makes Gautier popular with the Hindu right wing, both in India and overseas.

The problem of Islam, says Gautier, is not a problem of Muslims—it is a problem of the Koran. The Koran, he claims, is an archaic scripture which was fine for its time, but which has become obsolete

in a modern, pluralist, and democratic world. The whole world will wage war on Islam, says Gautier, and it "will slowly disappear." It is a scenario which Gautier describes with more hope than certainty:

> "Muslims with a little common sense, or just maybe with a sense of survival, will start changing their names quietly, they will stop going to the Mosque, they will send their children to Christian or Hindu schools. Governments will clamp down so hard on their own Muslims, there will be so many restrictions on them, that entire families will move out of the Jehadi enclaves you find all over the world, to resettle elsewhere. Jehadis facing certain death even if they are not suicide bombers will melt back into civilian life. Muslims will slowly lose faith in the righteousness and the power of their own religion, become atheists, or even embrace back Hinduism, as 90% of Muslims in India are Hindu converts. It may take a few decades, a 100 years even, but Islam will surely disappear in the alleys of history, and what looks now like menacing, dangerous, foreboding force will be looked upon as just another religion that came and passed away."

And Gautier ends with a rhetorical question: "Unless Islam converts itself?"

In 2003, Gautier founded the Forum Against Continuing Terrorism (or FACT), a group primarily concerned with establishing the link between terror and Islam. In the same year, he accompanied Sri Sri Ravi Shankar on his visit to Israel, to arrange for the creation of his Vedic Holocaust Museum, and for a public exhibition in two Israeli cities on the subject of Kashmiri Hindu Genocide. Gautier's mission included lengthy discussions with both Rabbi Abraham Cooper and Dr Alfred Balitzer. But such discussions, almost certainly, would have involved more than Hindu Genocide.

That Gautier's agenda was rather wider than this is clear from his writings. In 2004, he wrote a piece entitled "The Secret Brotherhood

of India and Israel", in which he made an impassioned plea for India to learn from Israel in three particular respects: first, India should follow Israel's example and be much tougher on Muslims; second, India should copy Israeli methods of ensuring public security, especially in airports; and third, India should consult with Israel on the matter of simplifying Sanskrit and making it—like Hebrew—a national language that the whole population must speak. And Gautier underlined his case by noting that Jews and Hindus shared a special status in the world—they were the two people who had been "elected by God." It was a plea, surely, that would resonate well beyond India and Israel.(219)

The sympathy between Zionism and Hindu nationalism is a long standing one—and one strengthened by resistance from the Congress Party to recognition of Israel by India. The situation changed after 1992, and within ten years Israel was India's second largest arms supplier after Russia. When the BJP took control of India's central government, ties grew even warmer, and in 2003 Ariel Sharon became the first Israeli Prime Minister to visit India. In September of that year, the Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz outlined what it saw as the vision now driving the two governments together: a triangular alliance between the U.S., Israel, and India, with Israel providing stability in the Middle East, and India providing the cushion for a turbulent Southeast Asia. And, of course, in the United Nations, an India far more sympathetic to the Israeli position in the Middle East.

Clearly, on their trip to Israel, Francois Gautier and His Holiness Sri Sri Ravi Shankar played a well-choreographed pas de deux. While His Holiness scattered homilies about peace and joy, Gautier got on with what really mattered. And it was much the same at the Bali Summit. Held without fanfare, the Bali get-together was not meant to strive towards a meeting of minds. The meeting of minds—between U.S., Israeli, and European elites, and their regional proxies—had already been reached. The Bali Summit was a cover. And, with the help of compliant local partners, the Bali Summit was what it was

intended to be—a publicity coup for Israel and the United States in a part of the world where both needed to be.

And so, what of C. Holland Taylor and the Libforall Foundation? Like His Holiness Sri Sri Ravi Shankar, the Libforall Foundation is not quite what it appears at first glance. Like His Holiness, Libforall is a front. While its provenance is not completely obscured, there is a considerable coyness about both its backers and its connections. In particular, Libforall plays down its involvement in that coalition of neo-conservative and Zionist interests seeking stricter containment of Islam—and a firmer foothold in Asia.

The group's "anti-terror" credentials, in general, are not a matter for concealment. Libforall is proud that, as part of the Global Anti-Extremist Network, it can coordinate its work with that of other branches of the United States foreign policy machine. Funding comes from a range of official and corporate sources. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), for example, aids the group through its programme for preventing Islamic extremism, although a $3.5 million grant from the U.S. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State and Foreign Operations was thwarted in 2006 because of party "gridlock". In the same year, however, the Defense Department sponsored the attendance of Taylor, Dhani, and Abdurrahman Wahid to a National Homeland Defense Symposium, held in Colorado Springs in association with U.S. Northern Command and NORAD.(220) And as a key player in the West's "counter-terror" network, Libforall also has links to the European Union's Working Group on Asia, the European Commission's counter-radicalization programme, the American Enterprise Institute, the Global Security Network, the Simon Wiesenthal Foundation, the Shimon Peres Peace Institute, the Center for Security Policy, the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, and the Foster Friess Foundation's Network for Private Sector Solutions.

Through such affiliations, however, Libforall connects and interacts with an even wider field of players, all of whom share a similar neo-conservative view—of economics, of government's role in public services, of foreign policy (in particular regarding Israel and the Middle East), and of Islam as America's greatest foe.(221) The Foster Friess group, of which Libforall is a key partner, illustrates the network particularly well.

Foster Friess made an extremely profitable career out of assets management after creating Friess Associates in 1974, and developing the flagship Brandywine Fund soon after. His fortunes rose when he became a born-again Christian in 1978, at which point "Jesus became Chairman of the Board" and (as Friess himself acknowledges) helped him expand his assets portfolio to over $16 billion, especially through the Brandywine Fund. After selling his business in 2001, Friess went on to devote his energies to political lobbying, by uniting neo-conservative groups and giving them a stronger collective voice. His Network for Private Sector Solutions was the key vehicle in this. Promoting an agenda that was strongly libertarian, Judeo-Christian, and patriotically American, the Network targeted three causes in particular—the privatization of health and education, energy security for the United States (and the rebuttal of global warming "scare-mongering"), and the war against "Islamic extremism". Freiss' network embraced scores of like-minded groups, through devices such as the Express Riders (whose aim is 3,000 "rapid response" members in each legislative district in the U.S.) and Helping Peaceful Muslims.

Helping Peaceful Muslims, essentially, is a coalition of pro-Western émigré Muslim groups and other neo-conservative and Zionist lobby groups. Key partners include the Central Asia Institute, the Crescent Project (for Lebanese Christians), World Vision (through the Institute for Global Engagement), the Saudi Institute in Washington, the American Islamic Forum for Democracy, and Libforall. These partners closely connect—through the Foster Friess

network—with the American Enterprise Institute (and its Muslim World specialists, such as Ayaan Hirsi Ali), Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy, the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum, the Center on Islam, Democracy, and the Future of the Muslim World (directed, out of the Hudson Institute, by Hillel Fradkin—who is also President of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, which is devoted to "clarifying and reinforcing Judeo-Christian morality in public life"). In addition, the Foster Friess network draws in such representative individuals as Rick Santorum, Chris Seiple, Kurdistan Prime Minister Barzani, the U.K. Independence Party's Gerard Batten, and the Wall Street Journal's Brett Stephens (ex-editor of the Jerusalem Post).(222) It is a measure of Libforall's significance in the Friess Network that, out of the nine people named as "Muslims for Modernity", four are Indonesians on Libforall's Board of Advisors: Abdul Munir Mulkhan (of Muhammadiyah), Azyumardi Azra (rector of Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta), Achmad Mustafa Bisri (of Nahdlatul Ulama), and Abdurrahman Wahid.

The weight of sentiment amongst Libforall's partners may be strongly Judeo-Christian, but this does not mean that other traditions are dismissed in the bid to tame Islam and its followers. Indeed, the exercise has room for secularists, New Age mystics, Buddhists, and Hindus. In particular, the role of modern, charismatic Hinduism is seen as crucial. Libforall's origins, its staffing, and its approach draw heavily on the styles of the Hindu god men—men like the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, Sri Bhagavan, and His Holiness Sri Sri Ravi Shankar. The reason for this dwells deep in the rather less-spoken realms of Western strategy.

Most Western strategists would probably agree that tackling the Muslim world by force of arms is a rather messy business. So, while going to war must remain an option, it must be so only as part of a multi-pronged strategy of force, persuasion, and subversion. The strategists would also agree that much of the problem of Islam, to

the West, is its corporate identity, its strong sense of faith-based fellowship—as well as the tendency for this to override the frivolities of self-indulgence. Muslims are seen as dour, proud, morally disciplined, and aloof from Western-style indulgences. This makes them rather difficult opponents. It follows that a strategy of cultural subversion must run in tandem with a policy of armed confrontation: Muslims, and especially young Muslims, must be westernized, enticed into materialism, self-indulgence, and political passivity. It is a process well known in the advertizing business, it has worked well for generations, and it makes money and friends.

For a long time now, this formula has found room for mystics and meditation, and for a cultivated obsession with the more spiritual side of the self. As a result, a pantheon of cults based on self-realization has emerged to minister to the needy: some are Christian, some are Sufi-based, some are Buddhist—but many of the more successful have been Hindu. God men like Sri Aurobindo, Yogananda, Swami Baktivedanta, Guru Maharaji Ji , Osho, Rajneesh, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, Sri Baghavan, Sri Sri Ravi Shankar—all have played a role in the packaging of Western commercialism, and in the muffling of discontent. And all to a large degree have done well on the proceeds. Just as Zig Ziglar, Richard DeVos, and Edwin Louis Cole have done well in much the same business. Indeed, in expanding capitalism, the Pentecostal motivator and the Hindu god man perform much the same function.

However, the nexus between Hinduism and the West's foreign policy is rather more complex than this. The expatriate Indian population in the U.S. is largely Hindu; it is also rich, highly educated, and increasingly influential politically. Indian-Americans have a median family income of about $61,000, compared to a national average of $42,000, there are more than 200,000 Indian American millionaires, and the community's annual buying power is some $20 billion. Reflecting this, and growing commercial ties with India, the India caucus in the U.S. House of Representatives is now some 118

strong, In 2007, the first Indian-American State Governor was elected, on a Republican ticket, in Louisiana. It is hardly surprising that the influence of the Indian American community is making itself felt in government policy—especially on matters relating to India, and to Southeast Asia and the Middle East (both of which also have large expatriate Indian communities). It is also hardly surprising that the common hostility towards Islam, amongst these expatriate Hindus, feeds into the the design of U.S. foreign policy—perhaps less because of electoral concerns, and more because of the fund of willing and useful activists available for the cause.

Not only are Indian Americans relatively wealthy, they are generally well-educated. Some 60% of those over 25 years of age have at least a Bachelor's degree. Perhaps equally important, Indian Americans (and educated Indians more generally) have a strong inclination towards employment in the IT business. In Silicon Valley, about 16% of all factory start-ups involve Indian-owned companies. But there is a spiritual side to this specialty. Most of the Hindu god men, too, are deeply attached to computers, and to the strategic business of media technology. The Maharishi University of Management is one example; His Holiness Sri Sri Ravi Shankar (himself a Maharishi disciple), and his Centre for Media Studies, is another. Besides, Sri Sri's choice of Bangalore is hardly fortuitous: the guru is surrounded, in Edward Luce's words, "by former software engineers and management graduates who have trained to become gurus. This is one reason why Bangalore, India's software capital, is so popular with the new Hindu cults."

For Libforall, the IT connection is crucial, and so are the global networks which each god man brings into service. Similarly, the Soka Gakkai organization brings wealth, a strong commitment to telecommunications, and a vast global network. Estimated in the mid-90s to be worth some $100 billion, Soka Gakkai has a powerful presence in Japan's mass media, its IT industry, and a wide range of large service companies. It also has over 1,000 "spiritual centres"

throughout the world, including most South and Southeast Asian countries, through which to promote its own special brand of meditative politics. Libforall thus has two powerful globally-placed auxiliaries, well versed in the arts of self-realization, to buttress its cause.

In Indonesia, the "battle for the Muslim soul" takes many forms. Victims—especially children—are evangelized in the wake of disaster. Communal tensions are exploited to evangelize both "derelict" Christians and vulnerable Muslims. The nation's own military force is used as a surrogate to discipline the more radical Muslims in regions like Aceh and Maluku. "Marketplace ministries"—especially Pentecostals—work hard on the urban and commercial populations, both Muslim and non-Muslim. And the gurus of "self-realization"—the Hindu god men, the Buddhist masters, and the Shaykhs from Michigan, together with their American minders—are hard at work on the young and educated. But the task of re-moulding Islam, clearly, will be no easy matter. Libforall, with its emphasis on a "mystical", Javanese-style Islam and the mass media, can be only one of many players in the process. Christian evangelists are others. But perhaps most effective, in the long run, are the purveyors of Western consumerism, in music and entertainment, fast food, clothing, and "lifestyle" spending. In the end, it may well be men like Miles Copeland, and their Belly Dance Superstars, who most successfully confront the Devil.

POSTSCRIPT

IN 2006, Reverend John Trevor White of Taginambur passed away. He was 94. His beloved Taginambur moves on. It is now an important landmark on the Borneo Christian tourist trail. It offers couples the chance to get married in its impressive new church. It also boasts of a river boating enterprise with some twenty inflatable boats. Most of all, it offers ample accommodation—especially in Taginambur Village Homestay's 21 rooms in nine separate houses. It is a haven for conferences, youth camps, and family breaks—especially for weary, stressed-out urbanites. And Taginambur's publicity is seductive:

> "A real cultural experience as guests are offered opportunities to partake in the Sunday markets, the farmers' daily market, do river bathing, rubber tapping, fruit picking, rice paddy planting in season, go fishing, learn traditional cooking, play cultural games, and partake in local events and festivals; for a small charge, you can also go cycling, buffalo and pony riding, and participate in cultural dancing.
>
> So for an off the beaten path and cultural experience, free of urban noise and pollution, consider Malaysian Borneo. It's the kind of adventure you and the kids will never forget."

There are still poor people in Taginambur, and the SIB continues in its efforts to ease their plight. The church's network is wide, and numerous outsiders, both secular and religious, have been recruited for the task. A key partner in the process is Habitat for Humanity. Habitat for Humanity is an evangelical mission, based in Americus, Georgia, which connects corporate donors and mission groups to the task of building homes for the poor, for disaster victims, and for war refugees.(223) Since it opened its Sabah office in 2004, the organization has been woven tightly into the state's evangelical Christian fabric: its first president, Hope M. Hurlbut, was an SIL (International) missionary linguist in Sabah (with a special interest in Kadazan-Dusun); its second president, Allen Tong, is a cell group leader in a wealthy SIB church in the capital city. As an earnest of its faith, Habitat for Humanity ensures that each house site goes through a blessing and sanctification ceremony before building commences. And its partnerships, like those of World Vision (with whom it maintains close links), draw in the highest echelons of Western Christian philanthropy: in Sabah, its volunteer partners have included companies like General Electric, Cargill Feeds, McGraw Hill, and Marriott Hotels; mission groups like YWAM, Operation Mobilization, and Kanzai Bible Institute; and elite private schools such as the International School KL and EABJM Lille.(224)

To date, in Sabah, ten houses have been built through such collaboration, in a number of villages identified as needy through the SIB's church network. Taginambur was one such village, and a poor rice farmer, Limpakan bin Bondoron, was the impoverished beneficiary of Habitat's efforts. Limpakan, with a wife and five children to support, earned about RM500 (US$132) a month selling rice and fruit, and his small house, infested with termites, was falling apart.

For Limpakan's house, most of the building work was done by a team of 21 volunteers from the Marriott Hotels staff in Sarawak, who had traveled to Sabah on a "Climb and Build" team-bonding

experience – combining building a house in Taginambur with climbing "Southeast Asia's tallest mountain", Mt Kinabalu, which overlooks the village. Marriott teams had helped Habitat for Humanity in this way on a number of occasions before, after the charity was adopted in 1995 as part of the hotel chain's "Spirit to Serve Our Communities" scheme.

It was a useful gesture, showing that a huge multinational like Marriott had a heart for the poor and marginalized. With almost 3,000 hotels, and over 115,000 rooms, under its wing, Marriott is one of the largest hotel chains in the world. Its Miri Resort and Spa—from where most of the volunteers came—is a 220-room 5-Star complex set by the sea in 20 acres of tropical forest. One night in a deluxe pool view room, with an Ocean Detox wrap at the spa, would cost more than RM800. So it is a far cry from Taginambur—and from Limpakan bin Bondoron.

But there can be no doubt that the Miri team found building Limpakan's house a rewarding experience. As Vijaya Priya Ananthan, a marketing communications executive with Marriott, put it: "We have always contacted each other through e-mails ... but nothing beats being on site and working together like this." And full coverage in the nation's newspapers ensured that both Marriott Hotels and Habitat for Humanity gained ample good publicity.

Meanwhile, Limpakan bin Bondoron gained a new house. But it was not a gift. Habitat for Humanity had granted Limpakan an interest-free loan, with repayments scaled for a 3% rate of inflation. Still, it was a worthwhile investment. Especially for Habitat for Humanity and Marriot Hotels.

NOTES

(1) For scenes of life in Easington Colliery in the early 1980s, see: http://www.amber-online.com/exhibitions/easington-a-mining-village?p=1. For background to the 1984-85 miners' strike, see http://www.bbc.co.uk/wear/history/mining/miners_strike/index.shtml. Fifteen years later, in 2000, the Index of Deprivation listed the 10 wards in England and Wales with the poorest health, out of 8,414. Six of these were in Easington. For some scenes of life in Taginambur see www.taginambur.com.my/Websitelaunching/taginambur_1.swf.

(2) Der Speigel's Foreign Editor, Erich Follath, observes: "Never before in...history has a country dominated the earth so totally as the United States does today.... America is now the Schwarzenegger of international politics: showing off muscles, obtrusive, intimidating ... The Americans, in the absence of limits put to them by anybody or anything, act as if they own a kind of blank check in their 'McWorld'." (Der Speigel, September, 1997). A rather more authoritative characterization is the following:

"The United States is now at an extraordinary peak of power in relation to other nations. Its superpower opponent (the USSR) has disappeared from the map.... It faces no economic challenge. It dominates international political and security institutions with Japan and Europe acting as junior partners.... So great has US domination of the earth progressed that decisions made at the United Nations or in the International Monetary Fund are essentially US decisions reflecting US values—they are not world decisions at all....

"The very phrase 'the world community' has become a euphemistic collective noun... to give global legitimacy to actions reflecting the interests of the US... (and) through the IMF and other international economic institutions, the US promotes its economic interests and imposes on other nations the economic policies it thinks appropriate." (Samuel P. Huntington, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government, Harvard University.

(both quotes: www.antipasministries.com/htm/file0000284.htm)

(3) White evangelicals comprise 26% of the US population (all evangelicals 30%). A useful study of their disproportionate political power, especially under the Bush presidency, is Jonathan Steinberg's 'A Mighty Fortress is His God' (Miami Herald, July 18th, 2004) (also: www.informationclearinghouse.info/article6530.htm) A moving critique of US-style Christian identity, by a church-going Christian, is Bill McKibben's 'The Christian Paradox: How a Faithful Nation Gets Jesus Wrong' (Harper's Magazine, August,2005). McKibben bewails the narrow concentration on "End Times" and self-realization, at the expense of the wider social message of the Bible.

(also in: www.harpers.org/archive/2005/08/0080695)

Defining the Enemy

(4) For a detailed account of the destruction of native peoples in America, see David Stannard: American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World (Oxford University Press, 1992).

(5) McNamara was speaking to Robert Scheer. See: http://www.truthdig.com/report/page2/20090706_remebering_mcnamara/. (sic) The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (to which McNamara belonged) fondly mentions their elder's liberal sympathies. See the report on the Church's 192nd General Assembly (1980) on: http://www.pcusa.org/peacemaking/believers.pdf. This report, entitled "Peacemaking: The Believers' Calling", makes a case similar to that made earlier at Lausanne—for a church that is more sensitive to non-Western attitudes and to the needs of the poor, and more outspoken on the question of wasteful military spending. The moral compass of the report is set by quotations from three people—Pope John II, Billy Graham, and Robert S. McNamara. McNamara, of course, went on from the Defense Department to oversee the implementation of World Bank "modernization". For a corrective to the Presbyterians' own view of McNamara, see Alexander Cockburn: "McNamara: From the Tokyo Firestorm to the World Bank" (http://www.counterpunch.org/cockburn07072009.html.)

(6) G. Colby and C. Dennett: Thy Will Be Done (1995) examines the role of evangelicals in US imperialism in Latin America. See also Soren Hvalkof and Peter Aaby (eds): "Is God an American?: An Anthropological Perspective on the Missionary Work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics" (International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs and Survival International, 1981). Norman Lewis's book The Missionaries (Secker & Warburg, 1988), and his article "A Harvest of Souls", on the role of the New Tribes Mission in Paraguay (Independent Magazine, April 1, 1989), provide useful case studies. But one of the fullest accounts of the role of evangelical groups in US "counter-insurgency" politics in Latin America is in the collection of articles appearing as CovertAction Number 18 (Winter 1983). This contains evidence of the close links between the CIA, men like Efraim Rios Montt, and groups such as

Summer Institute of Linguistics, YWAM, and Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship. For a summary of the evangelicals' political involvement in Central America (in support of men such as Rios Montt), see Tom Barry's article "The Sword of God" in New Internationalist Issue 210, August 1990. Barry points to the enthusiastic work of groups like the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship and Youth With a Mission, in "pacifying" a troublesome peasantry.

(7) In her book "Truth To Tell in Borneo", Gladys Rusha makes a powerful Christian argument for clearing the forests:

> "The jungles of Borneo successfully harbour the Devil's hideouts and cover effectively his dens of darkness and cruelty... Majestic trees towers to the sky; endless swirling rivers wind their way chaotically through masses of snake-infested greenery; forbidding rocks lurk in river beds and low-lying swamps... Dyakland is not attractive.
>
> "... superstitions, taboos, and animistic customs have been implanted by invading races. Satan is well entrenched. His purposes here, as everywhere, are destruction and death. Nature is often one of his weapons."

(8) There are a great many characterizations of the Muslim enemy. One of the most elaborate is that constructed by Peter Hammond, of the Baptist Frontline Fellowship, in his book 'Slavery, Terrorism, and Islam' (Christian Liberty Books, 2005). Islam, says Hammond, is a finely graduated threat, varying in quality according to the percentage of a population constituted by Muslims. Thus, in summary:

> *One percent*: not a threat to anyone; featured in articles and films ... for their colourful uniqueness;
>
> *Two-three percent*: begin to proselytize among ethnic minority convicts and street gangs;
>
> *Five percent on*: Will push for halal food, securing jobs for Muslims in food preparation, and will pressurize supermarkets with threats; will begin to press for sharia law for themselves;
>
> *10%*: Will increase lawlessness as a means of complaint—any non-Muslim action that offends will result in uprisings;
>
> *20%*: Hair-trigger rioting, jihad militia formations, church burnings;
>
> *40%*: Widespread massacres, chronic terror attacks, ongoing militia warfare;
>
> *60%*: Unfettered persecution of non-believers, sporadic genocide, and Jizya tax on infidels;
>
> *80%*: State-run ethnic cleansing and genocide;
>
> *100%*: 'Dar-es-Salaam'to satisfy blood lust, Muslims start killing each other.
>
> For a summary of Peter Hammond's book see:
> http://theroadtoemmaus.org/RdLb/33Rlg/Islm/SlvryTrr&Islam.htm

Marshalling the Forces

(9) A good introduction to Dominionism is Sarah Leslie's Dominionism and the Rise of Christian Imperialism (Discernment Research Group) (also in www.discernmentministries.org/ChristianImperialism.htm)

See also: Sara Diamond's Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right (South End Press, 1989), and Dominion Theology: The Truth About the Christian Right's Bid for Power (also as: http://zena,secureforum.com/Znet/zmag/articles/feb95diamond.htm). Al Dager's Vengeance is Ours: The Church in Dominion (Sword Pubs,1990) provides a useful Christian perspective. Frederick Clarkson: Christian Reconstructionism: Theocratic Dominionism Gains Influence (Public Eye Magazine, Vol.8, Nos 1 and 2, March/June 1994) (http://publiceye.org/magazine/v08n1/chrisrec4.htm) , and Taking Over The Republican Party (http://www.theocracywatch.org/taking_over.htm) are both valuable accounts of the US religious right. Theocracywatch is a project of Cornell University's CRESP Center for Transformative Action.

(10) On shepherding, see Sara Diamond, op cit.; Steven Lambert: Charismatic Captivation (Real Truth Pubs., 2003) (also as www.slm.org/pubs/samples/ccbook2.html), and http://www.talk2action.org/story/2006/5/10/112924/148. Lambert, himself a prophetic minister, stresses the similarity between the shepherding movement and pyramid selling schemes, and shows that the movement (with modifications) still has great influence on Pentecostal organization.

(11) See Evangelicals and Catholics Together: The Christian Mission in the Third Millennium (First Things, Vol 43, May 1994)

(12) The Wikipedia article, 'The Israel Lobby in the United States', is an excellent starting point for investigation of the Zionist Connection. The article details the complex interweaving of Jewish-American, Zionist, and Right-wing interests in the U.S., and its impact on foreign policy. It is worth noting that, in terms of funding, the Democratic Party appears more beholden to the Israel lobby than the Republican Party—for the Democrats, 60% of campaign funding comes from Jewish-funded Political Action Committees, compared to 35% for the Republicans. However, this could indicate that the Republicans' loyalty to the Zionist cause is rather more secure. (http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel_lobby_in_the_United_States). Also, Uri Avnery provides an incisive summary of the role of Christian Zionism on: http://www.religioustolerance.org/ch_isra.htm.

For the Likud Plan, see Yona Malachy: "The Relationship of American Fundamentalist Churches to Zionism and the State of Israel" (Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University, Jerusalem). And for the International Christian Embassy in Jerusalem, see Stephen Sizer: "Speaking the Truth about Zionism and Israel: The ICEJ: A Case Study in Political Christian Zionism, on: http://www.cc-vw.org/articles/icejmelisende.htm.

See also: Leon T. Hadar: "China and Indonesia Warming Ties With Israel", in Washington Report on Middle Eastern Affairs, January 1994, in: http://www.washington=report.org/backissues/0194/9401019.htm, http://www.ameu.org/printer.asp?iid=153&aid=197, and Jane Hunter: Cocaine and Cut-outs: Israel's Unseen Diplomacy (in The Link, Jan.-March, 1989, Vol.22, No 1. These articles discuss the Israel-China arms trade, with particular reference to the role of Shaul Eisenberg, as well as the wider involvement of Israel in drug and gun running in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

(13) For an outline of the state of corporate philanthropy in the U.S., see the reports of the National Committee on Responsive Philanthropy—e.g., 'The Strategic Philanthropy of Conservative Foundations (1997), and 'Axis of Ideology' (2004). For a Pentecostal view of 'prosperity theology', see www.globalharvest.org/index.asp?action=wealth. A good example of corporate Christianity is the Men's Ministry – the membership list of its Chairman's Advisory Council is a helpful roll-call of the very rich and famous.

See also Dinesh D'Souza: The Virtue of Prosperity: Funding Values in an Age of Technological Affluence (Simon & Schuster, 2000) on the nature of wealth in US.

(14) See http://watch.pair.com/toc-perspectives.html for a full description of those contributing to the 'Perspectives ...' course.

(15) Fuller's embrace of the social sciences is discussed in Al Dager's 'The World Christian Movement' (Sword, 2001)

The Next Thirty Years: Lausanne and Beyond

(16) See http://www.cephasministry.com/church_and_state_lausanne.html for details of the Lausanne Covenant. The Lausanne I website (http://www.lausanne.org/lausanne-1974/lausanne-1974.htm) contains reports of every congress and workshop held during the lengthy process, with links to every major document.

(17) For a full account of fundamentalist views on 'evangelization' (as opposed to "evangelism"), and a critique of mainstream dominionist ideology, see Pastor M.F.Reynolds Jr: AD2000 Eucumenical Evangelism: A Warning! (Foundation, Fundamental Evangelistic Association) (also as http://www.feasite.org/Foundation/fbcad200,htm)

(18) On the rise of 'Reconstructionism', see Frederick Clarkson: 'Theocratic Dominionism Gains Influence', in The Public Eye Magazine, Vol 8, No l, also as; http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v08nl/chrisrel.html

The Cultural Imperative

(18) On evangelical 'contextualization' see John Travis: 'The C1 to C6 Spectrum' in Evangelical Missions Quarterly, 34 (4); Sandy Simpson and Mike Oppenheimer: Idolatry in Their Hearts, also http://herescope,blogspot.com/2007/08/indigenous-peoples-movement.html, and (from the perspective of Youth With A Mission) 'What is Culture Specific Evangelism? At: http://akaministries.tripod.com/aloha/id24.html.

Such 'contextualization', of course, applies in Western contexts too—when Christianity is packaged to attract the young, with the help of styles and rituals from non-Western and non-Christian traditions, and from alternative politics: Campus Crusade's 'Christian World Liberation Front' is an early example of this.

See also Sandra Moniaga: Emerging Indigenous Peoples Movement in Indonesia on www.hurights.or.jp/asia-pacific/no_36/02.htm. For evangelicals, there is a need to co-opt legitimate indigenous movements, which tend to be anti-foreign business, anti-government, and anti-evangelical Christian. YWAM, in particular, has been active in countering indigenous rights movements with appropriately-named front goups. In 1995, YWAM arranged the first World Christian Gathering on Indigenous Peoples in New Zealand.

(19) On evangelizing Muslims, see Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization: Glen Eyrie Consultation on Evangelizing Muslims. (http://community.gospelcom.net/Brix?pageID=14391) Also Bill Nikides: Evaluating 'Insider Movements': C5 (Messianic Muslims) (St Francis Magazine, Nr 4, March 2006); Herbert Hoefer: 'Churchless Christianity' (Wm Carey Library, 2001); H.L.Richard: 'Christ-Followers in India Flourishing Outside the Church' (Mission Frontiers, Mar/April, 1999); and Rick Love: Discipling All Muslim Peoples in the 21st Century (International Jnl of Frontier Missions, Vol. 17: 4, Winter 2000. Missions specifically aimed at Muslims include: Africa Inland Mission, Anglican Frontier Mission, Avant Ministries, Arab World Ministries, Christar, Crossover Communications, Frontiers, Interserve International, People International, Pioneers, Send International, SIM, Wolof Connection, GoSahara, and Windows Ministries.

For a Muslim view of 'contextualization', see Saraji Umm Zaid: Secret War: Protecting Yourself, Your Family, and Your Community from Missionaries. (http://forum.bismikaallahuma.org/index.php?topic=4817.0)

(20) See Orville Boyd Jenkins: What is a People Group? (http://www.imb.org/globalresearch/peoplegroups.asp) and Strategy Leader Resource Kit, Virtual Research Center (http://www.geocities.com/virtual), which identifies 11,571 people groups, 6,505 unreached people groups (2,097 of these with a population of 100,000 or more – 603 of which are 'unengaged'). The Virtual Research Center contains numerous articles by Jenkins on evangelical strategies, e.g.: What is a People Group? Cities and People Groups: How New People Groups Develop; Describing Segments and Strata;

How We Determine Ethnicity; Strategy for Multicultural People Groups; and What is World View? (http://strategyleader.org/articles/multicultural.html).

(21) For insight into the Joshua Project, see www.joshuaproject.net/ethne.php The Joshua Project is a ministry of the U.S. Center for World Mission.

(22) For details on the evangelical strategy for India, see the articles in Tehelka (http://www.tehelka.com/story_main.asp?filename=ts013004qaeda.asp&id=1, and http://www.tehelka.com/story_main.asp?filename=ts013004shashi.asp&id=1.

A crucial product of the Indian "harvest" has been many thousands of cross-cultural missionaries, for mobilizing both in India and overseas. There has also been a counterpart effort within the US, targeting Indian Americans. (See Francis C. Assisi: "How Christian Evangelists Target Hindu American Students", in INDOlink—Indian Diaspora (NRI) News (http://www.indolink.com/displayArticleS.php?id=051706093445)

(23) In the mid-1980s, Herbert Hoefer looked at the extent of Christian influence within ostensibly Hindu communities, and found that Hindu culture could coexist with the worship of Christ. He argued that missionaries should be seeking to "Christ-ize" Hindu (and Muslim) cultures, rather than rejecting them and trying to change them. This conception has its evangelical critics, who see it as an unbiblical acceptance of "paganism"; but there are many who argue that the promotion of Christian beliefs within the framework of non-Christian cultures is a necessary form of subversion. (See Roger Oakland: The New Look of Christian Missions, on: http://www.lighthousetrailsresearch.com/blog/index.php?p=920&more=1&c=1; also H.L. Richard: "Christ-followers in India Flourishing Outside the Church" (review of Herbert E. Hoefer's "Churchless Christianity") Mission Frontiers, March/April 1999 (http://www.missionfrontiers.org/pdf/1999/0304/arrticles/04f.htm)

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(24) Quoted in Dahr Jamail: Occupying "Hearts and Minds" in truthout, May 2nd, 2009, and in http://www.countercurrents.org/jamail020509.htm

(25) Ed Dayton and David Fraser: "Mission and the Church", in Jay Gary (ed): Perspectives on World Mission, 2001

(26) On the U.S. Christian Right generally, see F. William Engdahl: "Full Spectrum Dominance: Totalitarian Democracy in the New World Order" (Third Millennium Press, 2009), and Engdahl's article in Global Research: "Christian Fundamentalism Permeates the Republican Party: Sara Palin's Links to the Christian Right" (http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=10167.)

See also: Jeffrey Sharlet: Through A Glass, Darkly: How the Christian Right is

Re-imagining U.S. History (Harper's Magazine, Dec.,2006). Greg Grandin's 'Good Christ,Bad Christ' (Counterpunch,Sept 9/10,2006) is a useful introduction to the role of the Christian Right in U.S. foreign policy, particularly in counter-insurgency. See: http://www.counterpunch.org/grandin09092006.html

On the roots of the Bush "crusader" vision for US foreign policy, and its geopolitical implications, see James Carroll's book "Crusade: Chronicles of an Unjust War" (Metropolitan Books, 2004). The Introduction to this can be read on http://www.alternet.org/module/printversion/19785.

(27) See Karen Olson: 'Ghost Writing the Law' (Mother Jones,Sept/Oct,2002), on infiltration of the U.S. Legislature by the Religious Right. Also 'The Rise of the Religious Right in the Republican Party', a study by the Center for Religion, Ethics, and Social Policy, Cornell University (www.theocracywatch.org/taking over.htm.).

(28) The assertion of the Christian Right in U.S. politics has caused a flurry of interest in the subject of the Fellowship Foundation, and its part in the shaping of power. A good starting point is Wayne Madsen's 'Expose: The 'Christian' Mafia' (Insider Magazine) on (http://www.insider-magazine.com/ChristianMafia.htm) See also Jeffrey Sharlet: Jesus Plus Nothing (Harpers Magazine,2003); Kathryn Joyce and Jeffrey Sharlet: Hillary's Prayer (Mother Jones, 1.9.07), for the link between Clinton and the Fellowship – on this, see also http://animar.wordpress.com/2008/03/25/hillary-and-the-fellowship/ See also Anthony Lappe: Meet The Family (Guerrilla News Network, 13.06.03), and S.R.Shearer's 'The Cedars: The House on 24th Street…' Antipas Ministries, 30/06/03 (http://www.antipasministries.com/html/file0000057.htm). Shearer's work, from a radical Christian perspective, details the role of the Christian Right in "counter-insurgency" programmes in Latin America, and in shaping U.S. policy in the Middle East. On Shearer's own background (including "counter-insurgency" planning), see Barbara Aho's criticism: www.watch-unto-prayer.org/antipas.html

A general record of the Fellowship's activities over the past 50 years can be found in Wheaton College archives. (www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/GUIDES/459.htm). See also www.sourcewatch.org/wiki.phtml?title=The Fellowship, and www.alternet.org/story/16167/?page=5.

(29) On the C.N.P.,see Barbara Aho's informative, but rather sprawling, investigative piece on http://educate-yourself.org/cn/councilfornationalpolicy09jun05.shtml=privatizinglatin

Also Council for National Policy in dKosopedia (http://www.dkosopedia.com/wiki/CouncilforNationalPolicy.), and Jeremy Leaming and Rob Boston: Behind Closed Doors (Americans United for Separation of Church and State, October, 2004 (http://www.au.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=6949&abbr=cs)

See also F. William Engdahl's "Full Spectrum Dominance" (op cit.) and the same author's Global Research article "Christian Fundamentalism Permeates the Republican Party: Sara Palin's Links to the Christian Right"

(30) Grover Norquist is of particular interest as a key strategist in the campaign to recruit young and ambitious Muslim politicians into the US policy machine. Norquist founded the lobby groups Americans for Tax Reform and the Islamic Free Market Institute, and maintains links with groups like the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy and the International Institute of Islamic Thought (co-founded by Malaysia's Anwar Ibrahim), as well as the Moslem Brotherhood. With David Safavian, Norquist co-founded the Washington lobbying firm Janus-Merritt Strategies, which for some time (according to Safavian) lobbied on behalf of Anwar Ibrahim. (http://www.jihadwatch.org/archives/008295.php, and (http://www.islamicsupremecouncil.org/media_center/leaders/StrangeBedfellows.htm)

(31) Paul Collins and Phillip Collins: "The Deep Politics of God: The CNP, Dominionism, and the Ted Haggard Scandal" http://www.conspiracyarchive.com/commentary/CNP_Dominionism.htm (Feb. 19th, 2007)

(32) For CCC's own account of its history and scope, see Judy Douglas: Until Everyone Has Heard (CCCI, 2001)

(33) Campus Crusade's "far-sighted sowing" amongst Korean American students in the US, was a major reason for the surge in Korean-American evangelical students during the 1990s. (http://www.indolink.com/displayArticle5.php?id=051706093445)

Even Christ Was Not Honest: Lying and Mission

(34) Warren Larson, director of the Muslim Studies program, believes that "Islam is biologically taking over the world"

(35) Barry Yeoman: The Stealth Crusade (Mother Jones, May/June 2002) (also on barryyeoman.com)

(36) On Cydney Mizell, ARLDF, and Baptist Global Response, see: http://www.abpnews.com/3063.article, and http://www.tnbaptist.org/BRARticle.asp?ID=2469. The International Mission Board President, Jerry Rankin, summed up the problem: in missionizing amongst Muslims, said Rankin, 'Americans have to keep a very low profile … So, it involved tweaking our strategy to be more involved in a very behind-the-scenes grassroots discipleship and training of local believers.' (Mission News Network, Jan 31st,2007)

In October, 2008, a young missionary called Gayle Williams was shot dead in a Kabul street. Williams was employed by an NGO called Serve Afghanistan, ostensibly to work with handicapped children. Serve Afghanistan's chairman, Mike Lyth, denied Williams was evangelizing. Mike Lyth is also the Director of Corporate Services for the International Coordinating Team of Operation Mobilization.

Operation Mobilization's mission statement reads: "OM's role in the body of Christ is to motivate, develop, and equip people for world evangelization, and to strengthen and help plant churches, especially among the unreached in the Middle East, Europe, and South and Central Asia." For the region of Afghanistan, OM was advertizing for a number of placements, including Community Health Project director, Community Health Worker, and Physiotherapist. In addition to his role in Operation Mobilization, Mike Lyth is advisor to Firm Foundation Trust, which is dedicated to promoting Christian literature in Turkey. OM Ships International (which runs two large gospel ships) is coordinated from Mike Lyth's Corporate Services office. OM concentrates its attention on evangelizing amongst young people, and is especially concerned with outreach to Muslims, and ethnic minority groups such as the Dalits of India (whom OM targets through the Dalit Freedom Network).

Managers and Apostles: Taking Christian Control

(37) On Peter Drucker's influence, see Lynn and Sarah Leslie, and Susan Conway: The Pied Piper of Purpose.

(38) On prayer networks generally, see The Transformation of the Church database, on http://watch.pair.com/gpm-missions.html and related watch.pair sites. See also: www.nationalprayer.org and www.missionamerica.org An insight into the strategic purpose of prayer can be gained by looking at Campus Crusade's worldwide day of prayer lists, grouped by geographic area, and available on http://www.globalprayermovement.org For Southeast Asia, prayer leaders are urged to praise "influencers of society—government, business, military, etc—(for) starting to form the core of the Community Leaders movements in Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia, through the Global Leaders Movement in Southeast Asia", and also to welcome the fact that "125,000 'Jesus' VCDs were distributed to the entire Philippines National Police force, initiated by the chief as part of their Value Formation emphasis." An especially useful general (and Christian) analysis is Sarah Leslie's 'The Global Day of Prayer' in Discernment Newsletter (http://www.discernment-ministries.org/NLMayJune 2005.htm) This two-part article contains a great deal of information on the key evangelical groups promoting the "Global Day of Prayer' and their doctrinal and political agenda.

(39) For details of Wagner's project, see http://www.apostlesnet.net/prospectus.htm and www.globalharvest , and an interview with Wagner in Generals International, at: http://www.generals.org/index.php?id=886. See also Wagner's work "Apostles of the City: How to Mobilize the Territorial Apostles for City Transformation. Wagner owes some of the theological underpinning of his movement to the earlier Joel's Army theorists. The Joel's Army movement sees the need for both an "End Time Army" and an apostolic hierarchy to meet the End Time when it comes. (See: Jewel Grewe at www.discernment-ministries.org/JoelsArmy3.htm for a discussion of this)

(40) Since 1999, Otis's Sentinel Group has produced nine publicity videos for Wagner's apostles and their followers—with contributions from such people as Jack Hayford of Four Square Ministry, Thomas Muthee (Sara Palin's pastor), Harold Caballeros of El Verbo Guatemala, and John Dawson of YWAM. According to Otis, these have been watched by some 300 million people. The two "Transformations" videos, and a third on the Fijian coup, claim to provide documentary proof of the political, socio-economic, and environmental impact of concerted prayer—in the form of more legitimate and honest government, reduced crime levels, improved social welfare, and much larger vegetables. The key to such improvements, it is stressed, lies in accepting the evangelical formula of intensive prayer, obedience to the Apostle, and political passivity. For a useful overview and critique, see the article by Bruce Wilson in The Huffington Post: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/bruce-wilson/palins-movement-urges-god_b_139987.html, and also the Talk2Action survey referred to in this: http://www.talk2action.org/story/2008/10/27/115813/98.

(41) "Singapore," said Josh Reinstein, "is a battleground country in our efforts to mobilize support for Israel and promote Judeo-Christian values in Asia." Josh Reinstein is Director of the Knesset's Christian Allies Caucus, and—with help from the Michael Cherney Foundation—he organized the 2006 Jerusalem Summit Asia in Singapore.

The Self-Help Crusaders:"Leadership Training" as Subversion

(42) See John C. Maxwell's promotional websites, and the entry in Wikipedia. For a biographical summary, in support of the Indiana State Assembly's decision to honour Maxwell, see http://www.in.gov/legislative/bills/2003/HRESF/HC0045.html

(43) On Equipping Leaders for Asia, see: www.equippingleadersforasia.org/index.php/about/ministries-churches/churches-ela-serves-m-mlm.

(44) For criticism of Maxwell's "pop-modernist' theology, and reference to the split between Singapore's Far East Bible College and its mother church over the issue, see: http://www.febc.edu.sg/VPP79.htm.

The Military Imperative
Soldiers in Spirit

(45) In a Consultation on Mission Language and Metaphors in June 2000, delegates meeting at Fuller College expressed unease at the use of 'military-style language' in evangelism. It was felt that words like 'target', 'army', and 'crusade' should be replaced by words like 'blessing' and 'healing', so as not to cause offence 'to the very people with whom we are seeking to share the Good News.'

(46) On 'spiritual warfare', see Sarah Diamond, op cit., and Al Dager, op.cit.; other Christian critiques include Johan Malan and Louisa Coetzee (on Wagner, Otis, and other theorists), on http://erwm.com/Revival%20or20Apostasy.htm and http://www.bibleguidance.co.za/Engarticles/Transformations.htm; also Johan Malan: George Otis and his Fallacious Teachings (http://www.discernment-ministries.org); also http://watch.pair.com/track.html .

'Spiritual warfare' has its Christian critics. One, the Conservative Lutheran Association's Greg Robertson, made the following observation: "There is a prayer network in Jakarta that is taking credit for a section of the city having been spared during the riots of 1998. The prayer network took a map and placed dots at all the houses involved in their enterprise, with a big dot for the headquarters. When the dots were connected, according to them, it formed a dove, with the headquarters as the eye.

'I was talking to a person who knew nothing about the spiritual mapping enterprise. He ... told me the area, because it is full of rich people who could buy protection, was protected by the military during the 1998 riots." (see Greg Robertson: 'The Rocks of Indonesia', in The Thorn Street Chronicles, on http://www.geocities.com/promo777/indomap.htm.

For the main spiritual 'warriors', see George Otis: Transformations, and Spiritual Mapping (http://herescope.blogspot.com/2006/02/george-otis-transformation-spiritual.html); C.Peter Wagner: ' Breaking Strongholds' and 'Engaging the Enemy' (both Regal books); John Dawson: 'Taking Our Cities for God (Creation Books); Bob Larson: 'Bob Larson's Book of Spiritual Warfare' (Thos Nelson, 1999). Also http://hoseaintercessorswarriors.bravepages.com/webrings.html

For a richly-detailed academic study of spiritual warfare and spiritual mapping, see Rene Holvast's "Spiritual Mapping: The Turbulent Career of a Contested American Missionary Paradigm 1989-2005" (http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/dissertations/2008-0710-200706/holvast.pdf).

(47) For C. Peter Wagner's thoughts on Iraq, with a commentary by Chuck Pierce, see: http://www.gracecentered.com/christian_forums/index.php?topic=24898.0.

(48) On Wagner's World Prayer Center and its mother church, see Jeff Sharlet: "Soldiers of Christ: Inside America's Most Powerful Megachurch" (Harpers, 13th May, 2005).

The WPC owes much to the work of Otis and his Sentinel Group. In the year the WPC opened, Otis initiated the Ancient Pathways project in Lynwood, Washington, and in 1999 issued his 'Transformations' video series, which claimed to show proof that mass 'intercessory prayer' combined with strategic spiritual warfare actually defeats the 'strongholds of the devil' (see the herescope.blogspot.com reference above)

(49) J. Lee Grady, Charisma: "God's Air Command" (Charisma, May, 1999) "The U.S. and the world," says Wagner "are attempting to emerge from a history-altering catastrophe (9/11). President Bush used well-chosen (and appropriate) language

when he characterized this conflagration as a conflict between good and evil .... For the first time in 50 years our nation is now unified, in heart and voice, ready to shift from an era of peace to an era of war" Quoted in: www.antipasministries.com/file0000147.htm

(50) See Dahr Jamail: "Occupying Hearts and Minds" in TruthOut, April 30th, 2009, on http://www.truthout.org/043009R, and Roberto Gonzales and David Price: "When Anthropologists Become Counter-Insurgents" (CounterPunch, September 28th, 2007)

Christ In Uniform

(51) Florida Baptist Witness, May 1st, 2003.

(52) Evangelization of the U.S. military is well documented in Mike Weinstein: With God on Our Side. Weinstein, founder of the Military Religious Freedom Foundation, has expressed concern at "the frightening prospect that our conventional and nuclear forces—technologically the most lethal organization ever created by humankind—was falling into the hands of a Christian Taliban." See interview in the Philadelphia Jewish Voice, No.32, Feb., 2008 (also in http://www.pjv.com/v32300words.aspx). For an academic study see Anne C. Loveland: American Evangelicals and the US Military 1942-93.

See also: Articles by Chris Hedges: 'America's Holy Warriors' (TruthDig, 31.12.06) (also at www.crusadewatch.org/index and www.yuricareport.com/Dominionism/AmericasHolyWarriors.html), and 'The Christian Right and the Rise of American Fascism', Theocracy Watch, 11.15.04; Jeffrey Sharlet (Harpers Magazine, Dec. 2006); David Antoon: The Evangelical Christian Takeover of the Military (Alternet, 16.11.07 (http://www.alternet.org/asoldierspeaks/67385/?page=2&ses=e81a30fa ...) The role of groups like Christian Embassy is discussed here—see also Jeffrey Sharlet: 'Inside Christian Embassy' (The Revealer, Dec.23rd,2006)

Hedges emphasizes the calculated and long-term nature of the strategy to evangelise the U.S. military: "The drive by the Christian Right to take control of military chaplaincies, which now sees radical Christians holding roughly 50% of the chaplaincy appointments in the armed services and service academies, is part of a much larger effort to politicize the military and law enforcement. This effort signals the final and perhaps most deadly stage in the long campaign by the radical Christian Right to dismantle America's open society and build a theocratic state ...." It may well be, however, that the efforts of the "Christian Right" serve a much broader establishment interest in the techniques of social control.

For a lengthy analysis of the role of the SBC and the Assemblies of God within the US military, and the growing integration of military and evangelical 'cultures', see Katherine Yurica's article 'Infiltrating the U.S. Military: General Boykin's 'Kingdom Warriors' on the Road to Abu Ghraib and Beyond' (Oct. 12th, 2004), as: http://

www.yuricareport.com/Dominionism/InfiltratingTheUSMilitaryGenBoyk. The Assemblies of God dropped its commitment to pacifism in 1967, "embracing worldly war as a counterpart to spiritual struggle." (Loveland)

(53) On the worldwide network of U.S. military bases, and the deployment of military personnel, see Jules Dufour, in Global Research July 1st, 2007, on http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=5564

(54) For the links between evangelicals, legislature, and military, see article on the Coral Ridge Ministries 'Reclaiming America For Christ' Conference, on http://www.jewsonfirst.org/07a/reclaiming_conference.html

In 2005, the House of Representatives passed the Public Expression of Religion Act, which provides that attorneys who successfully challenge the government's violation of the First Amendment shall not be entitled to recover attorneys' fees – thus preventing suits challenging unconstitutional government action in promoting religion, especially in the military.

(55) One of the US military's most ardent supporters within the evangelical community was Billy Graham. "There are those," said Graham, "who have tried to reduce Christ to a genial and innocuous appeaser; but Jesus Christ said, 'You're wrong"—I have come as a fire-setter and sword-wielder. I am come to send fire down on earth.'" This pronouncement, from Luke 12:49, was a favourite of Graham's. He used it at the 1966 National Prayer Breakfast, in support of Johnson's war against Vietnam. He used it frequently in his crusades, too—for example in Lubbock, Texas, in 1975, when long-time Secretary of the Navy, John Warner, was a co-speaker. (http://www.geocities.com/sion_preaching/ministry/billy_graham/index.htm)

(56) On the theological justification for U.S. military power, see Jerry Falwell: God is Pro-War (WorldNetDaily, Jan.31st,2004); Morgan Strong: Armageddon (http://www.antiwar.com/orig/strong.html), the Christian website http://www.gotquestions.org/war-Bible.html; http://c2core.com/archives/?itemid=1498; Jon Basil Utley:'The Brutal Christ of the Armageddonites' (http://antiwar.com/utley/?articleid=8588).

(57) On America's crusade in Iraq, see Chris Rodda: ' "The Great Commission" and Iraq' (Huffington Post, 4.6.08). There is a brief but useful summary of evangelical attitudes to the Iraq War by Charles Marsh: 'Wayward Christian Soldiers' (New York Times, 20.1.06)—Marsh is a professor of religion at the University of Virginia, and author of 'The Beloved Community: How Faith Shapes Social Justice ... '

(58) The US Government's Arabic language satellite TV news station was set up and managed by Grace Digital Media, a fundamentalist Christian Zionist enterprise whose executives include Cheryl Reagan, who also controls Federal News Services. See Brian Flemming: "US TV Station in Iraq provided by Christian Evangelists" in Blogcritics Magazine, 29.4.03. (http://blogcritics.org/archives/2003/04/29/184907.php)

(59) Iraq gives great scope for 'spiritual warfare' projects in support of the troops. An example is the Baghdad Prayer Patrol, which coordinates prayer on the basis of a website showing air photos of Baghdad city districts, with appropriate prayer guidance. The measure had tangible results, it is claimed—there was "an 81.75% drop in (U.S.) casualties since the Baghdad Prayer Patrol reached significant numbers. God is listening!" For details, see: http://prayercentral.net/baghdad/?p=99 and http://prayercentral.net/baghdad/?page_id=154.

For a more impartial account of the behaviour of America's Christian troops in Iraq see Jeffrey Sharlet's "Jesus Killed Mohammed: The Crusade for a Christian Military" (Harper's Magazine, May 2009). Sharlet's title refers to the slogan painted on Bradley armoured vehicles in Samarra. Most of Sharlet's article is reproduced on the www.rigorousintuition.ca website.

(60) An exhortation, incidentally, also used by the military rabbis during the Israelis' assault on Gaza.

(61) On the destruction of Iraq's written heritage, see Fernando Baez: "The Cultural Destruction of Iraq"; also http://fernando-baez.blogspot.com/2006_11_10_archive.html, and K. Gajendra Singh: Destruction of the World's Eastern Heritage in Iraq (Opinion July, 2003 www.aljazerah.info)

(62) On Cadence, see http://www.crosswalk.com/524330/print/ and also the website of the Bradley family, Cadence missionaries based in Chiang Mai: (http://bradleyfam.blogspot.com/2007_10_01_archive.html.) Cadence, in cooperation with the Union of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, has 41 chaplains helping to start up ministries in military bases in Russia and former Soviet republics such as Belarus and Ukraine.

(63) See Carl Boggs: "Torture: An American Legacy" for a corrective to the idea that torture is an aberration in the conduct of imperial warfare. (http://www.counterpunch.org/boggs06172009.html)

(64) For a discussion of such "contextualized" torture, see Michael Peppard: "The Secret Weapon: Religious Abuse in the War on Terror" in Commonweal, December 5th, 2008 (Peppard's article is also on http://www.commonwealmagazine.org/article.php3?id_article=2390.) There are also a number of lengthy articles on the US use of torture by Jane Mayer in The New Yorker: in particular, "The Experiment", July 11th, 2005 , and "A Deadly Interrogation", November 14th, 2005. (http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2005/07/11/050711fa_fact4?currentPage=all)

See also various New Yorker articles by Seymour Hersh, especially "The Gray Zone". (http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2004/05/24/040524fa_fact?currentPage=all). For a discussion of the role of the American Psychological Association in refining and conducting US torture, see the article by Dr Bryant Welch: "Torture, Psychology, and Senator Daniel Inouye" in Counterpunch: (http://www.counterpunch.org/welch06172009.html)

The evangelical attitude to torture is discussed by Jon Basil Utley in 'Torture, the GOP, and the Christian Right' (http://antiwar.com/utley/?articleid=7592), and also by 'sendtoscott' in 'Abu Ghraib: Hell House of the Religious Right' (http://www.streetprophets.com/story/2005/11/25/173426/9), which includes many useful references. Torture, some argue, is justified in the Book of Matthew and elsewhere in the Bible, and this 'justification' has gained particular relevance under the present Bush administration. The president's powers in the matter of torture were outlined in a Pentagon treatise prepared by a team led by Mary L. Walker of The Professional Women's Fellowship, an offshoot of Campus Crusade. In 2004, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Dennis Hastert (R-IL), a Christian rightwinger, introduced a bill favouring torture—a key supporter of which was James M. Inhofe (R-OK), a member of the Fellowship Foundation. See also: Steven H. Miles: 'Abu Ghraib: Its Legacy for Military Medicine' (The Lancet 364, 9435:30574; August 21,2004) also in http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/MIL408A.html). Miles' article is a useful statement of the moral context of 'military medicine', especially as it applies to torture. For an evangelical view of mission in Iraq, see Susan Wunderink: 'Iraq Ministry Surge' (Christianity Today, Sept. 27,2007) on: http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2007/septemberweb-only/139-42.0.html.

On Stephen Cambone, see Tim Shorrock: "QinetiQ Goes Kinetic: Top Rumsfeld Aide Wins Contracts From Spy Office He Set Up" in CorpWatch, Jan. 15th, 2008, also on: http://groups.yahoo.com/group/TheCallToArms/message/3033?1=1. This provides useful insight into the corporate connections of senior Defense Department officials, and the influence of these connections upon policy.

The Economic Imperative

(65) On McNamara and the World Bank, see Bruce Rich: Mortgaging The Earth (1994)

(66) See Naomi Klein: The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism (Allen Lane, 2007), for a related analysis of the "relief and development" industry.

(67) On the Bush 'Faith Initiative', see David Kuo: Tempting Faith: An Inside Story of Political Seduction (Free Press). Kuo, who resigned as Bush's advisor, points out that the Initiative was essentially a public relations fraud, which depended on funds already ear-marked for allocation, and with which many evangelical pastors happily colluded.

(68) Bill Berkowitz: 'Paul Bonicelli/ USAID; The Rest of the Story' (Jan.8th, 2006) (http://www.mediatransparency.com/story.php?storyID=102.)

(69) On Andrew Natsios, see: www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Andrew_S_Natsios. www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Bechtel http://www.citizen.org/

documents/profilebechtel.pdf, for a lengthy analysis produced by CorpWatch, Global Exchange, and Public Citizen: "Bechtel: Profiting From Destruction—Why the Corporate Invasion of Iraq Must Be Stopped." http://thinkprogress.org/2006/09/19/natsios-darfur. The context of U.S. policy towards Sudan is presented in David Morse: "War of the Future in Dafur: Oil Drives the Genocide"(http://www.commondreams.org/views05/0819-26.htm)

(70) After 'sustainability', the terms 'micro- enterprise' and 'micro-credit' are two of the most common terms in 'relief and development' literature. For the most part, they refer to schemes based upon fairly strict commercial criteria, as well as evangelical agenda. There are some 3,100 micro-enterprise schemes currently being funded by groups ranging from World Vision to Citigroup Bank, and requiring repayment at commercial rates. Required annual capital repayment can be as high as 50%. Opportunity International, which aims to mobilize $1 billion for financial services 'to 100 million poor people over seven years' (that is, about $1.40 per head), expects a 98% repayment rate overall. Opportunity International, a global network of banking professionals, was founded by Al Whittaker (ex-president of Bristol-Myers) and the Australian businessman David Bussau. It draws its funds from three sources: interest on micro-credit, corporate philanthropy, and USAID. In 2007, 45% of the $702 million disbursed went to Eastern Europe, and 39% went to the Philippines and Ghana.

(71) Seventy per cent of converts, some missions estimate, are won through illness and the evangelizing of 'medical missions' in regions where healthcare is poor. The strategies to be used are summarized by Brad Cochran, health strategist for the SBC's International Mission Board, as 'the ABC of Health Strategy':

Access to Unreached Areas: medical workers 'can go to places where no-one else can go, and where no-one is going to hear the Gospel unless we get there…'

Behind Closed Doors: 'Good strategies go inside multiple homes multiple times. I can't lead Muslims to Christ in a public setting … Behind closed doors means wherever in a culture you can have intimate conversations.'

Care for the Needy: '….In God's strategy this helps lead you into (D)…'

Making Disciples: 'Disciples are people who will readily risk their life for the Gospel. We are disciples and we make disciples, because disciples multiply…'

Empower the Church: 'We take these disciples and we gather them into groups (churches). We strengthen them and teach them the same kind of strategies so they can access other unreached communities, care for the needy, get behind closed doors, and empower more churches. That's how it keeps rolling.' (www.imb.org/main/news/details.asp?StoryID=5861&Languag.)

(72) For details on the Make Poverty History campaign, see Stuart Hodkinson: 'Make The G8 History', in Red Pepper, July 2005; and Kathleen Quarmby: 'Why Oxfam is Failing Africa' (New Statesman. May 30th, 2005)

Rwanda: Light in the Heart of Darkness

(73) Coltan—a compound of columbium and tantalite—is particularly valuable as a component of cell phones and guided missiles. Although most production, at present, is in America and Australia, 80% of the world's reserves are in Africa. Rwanda's involvement in the trade is mainly through its control of much of eastern Congo, and many of the local transport companies moving the ore for foreign dealers are tied to the families of Congo's Kabila and Rwanda's Kagame. Kivu Province has been occupied by Rwandan and Ugandan troops since 1998. See World Rainforest Movement Bulletin No. 69, April 2003, on: http://www.wrm.org.uy/bulletin/69/Congo.html.

(74) For this, and other Global Development Alliance programmes, see http://usinfor.state.gov/journals/ites/0805/ijee/usaid.htm. The GDA was announced in 2001, by Andrew Natsios, as a 'new development model for USAID' It focused strongly on African programmes, and in every case it served U.S. foreign policy ends, both politically and economically. Angola is a case in point. USAID's Enterprise Development Alliance, involving a $20 million plan for Angola's agriculture, was undertaken jointly with Chevron, the largest investor and employer in the country. Chevron discovered oil in Sudan in 1978, and is also a key player in Iraq and Uzbekistan. Chevron has close links with the World Vision board of directors.

(75) On the Swaziland fiasco, see Johan Malan: 'Wilkinson's Dream for Africa is Shattered' (Discernment Ministries, 22.12.05) in: http://www.discernment-ministries.org/AfricaDreamsShattered.htm, and also 'Mr Jabez's Dream Turns to Nightmare in http://www.discernment-ministries.org/HerescopeDecember2005.htm.

(76) For an analysis of Rick Warren's theories of 'Purpose-Built' church transformation, and their global significance (and also the relevance of Systems Theory to the Warren ideology), see Lynn and Sarah Leslie and Susan Conway: 'The Pied Piper of Purpose: Human Capital Systems and Church Performance' (Conscience Press,2004).

Also as http://www.discernment-ministries.org/Purpose_Driven.pdf. For a libertarian Christian critique, see Berit Kjos: Warren's P.E.A.C.E. Plan and UN Goals in: http://www.crossroad.to/articles2/05/peace-un-1.htm. See also the interview with David Kuo: 'Rick Warren's Second Reformation', in Beliefnet, as: http://www.beliefnet.com/story/177/story_17718_4.html, and Holly Lebowitz Rossi: Evangelicals Embrace New Global Priorities http://www.beliefnet.com/story/168/story_16822_1.html.

A particularly useful reference (despite its title) is j.hutson: 'Violent Video Game Marketed Through Mega-Churches (Part 2) (www.talk2action.org/story/2006/6/1/82458/92817) which looks at the link between Warren, Peter Drucker, Claremont Graduate School, and Rwanda.

(77) For a useful account of Rwanda's regional context (and Kagame's involvement in the Congo), see Keith Harmon Snow: 'The War That Did Not Make The Headlines: Over Five Million Dead in the Congo' in Global Research, Jan.31st,2008, as: http://globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=7957, and Johann Hari: 'How We Fuel Africa's Bloodiest War', The Independent, October 30th, 2008 (also as: http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/johann-hari/johann-hari-how-we-fuel-africas-bloodiest-war-978461.html) On Yuweri Musuveni, see www.alternet.org/story/16167.

(78) The contribution of the Gates Foundation to solving African problems may be judged with reference to Gates' investment portfolio: Gates holds $1.5 billion in stocks of drug companies (like Abbott Laboratories) restricting supply of basic medicines to poor countries, and $423 million in the oil companies polluting the Niger Delta—rather less than the Foundation spends tackling health problems in the region. See Charles Piller, Edmund Sanders, and Robyn Dixon: 'Gates Foundation Money Works at Cross Purposes' (Los Angeles Times, Jan.7,2007), also on: www.aliveandwell.org/html/the bigger picture/Bill Gates Philanthropist or Polluter.html.

The Infrastructural Imperative

(79) Seattle is a significant centre for the world of U.S. corporate philanthropy. The Seattle Foundation itself is the largest 'community foundation' in Washington state. With directorship connections to such companies as Amoco, US Bank of Washington, Boeing, Honeywell, and various investment banks, the foundation has $650 million in charitable assets. But its assets pale beside those of the largest foundation based in Seattle—the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, which has $38 billion of funds. World Vision, too, has its US headquarters in the Seattle area—Joyce Godwin, the Chair of Quest Aircraft's Board of Trustees, is on World Vision's International Board.

(80) For the Kodiak project, see http://questaircraft.com/index.php?filename=quest.php, and Christopher Schwarzen: 'God's Work gets a lift', at: http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/snohomishcountynews/2003627632_airplane210.html—a particularly useful source.

(81) For examples of the broad scope of 'Christian statistics', see David Barnett and Todd Johnson: World Christian Trends (Wm Carey Library,2001), and Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk: Operation World—21st Century Edition (Paternoster, 2001). For a very different view of the political use of statistics, see the work of Dr David James Krus—especially his website 'Visual Statistics Illustrated', on the subject 'Les chiffres sont les signes de Dieu'.

(82) For a critique of the Kaleidoscopic Global Action Plan, see Al Dager: The World Christian Movement: Evangelism versus Evangelization, available on: http://www.intotruth.org/globalism/WCM4.html.

(83) On the Joshua Project, and networks like Harvest Information Services, see http://www.joshuaproject.net/data-sources.php. A number of AD2000 and Beyond websites, including the original Joshua Project site, are now inactive and in archive. These, and successor websites are readily available through this one.

(84) For a good idea of the variety of evangelical resources available to support prayer and penetration, see http://members.aol.com/miss3rdm/resources.htm .

(85) On Project 4K, see http://www.ywam.nl/heidebeek/2006/10/4k-new-flare-for-missions. For extensive (if slightly dated) details of the evangelical movement's complex electronic networks, see the ICCM 1997 Program Outline: "Technological Solutions for Real World Missions", which includes all papers presented on various aspects of the evolving computer network: http://iccm.gospelcom.net/us/1997/1ccm97prog.html.

(86) For the link between George Otis Sr and the Israeli-backed Phalangists, see CovertAction, No 18 (Winter 1983), pp. 64-65. On Christian radio generally, see Frances Rivers: 'Making Waves: Christian Broadcasters beam their Messages to the world' (The Progressive, November 1993). The radio mission HCJB (Heralding Christ Jesus' Blessings), which began in South America, is now one of the largest radio missions in the world. It currently uses the Otis shortwave station in South Lebanon to broadcast in Uzbek, Georgian, and Czech. The late George Otis's High Adventure Ministries has five radio stations in the Middle East—Otis passed METV in South Lebanon over to Pat Robertson in 1982.

The Book Business

(87) See, for example: 'The Living Bible, the NIV, and Wycliffe Bible Translation' (Way of Life Literature, 2001) (http://www.wayoflife.org/fbns/livingbibleniv.htm)

(88) The UBS 'Opportunity 21' translation programme involved 338 bible-related translation projects in 65 countries, and was backed by a pledge of $15 million from the Maclellan Foundation. One of the projects was a 'Computer-Assisted Publication' Bible factory in Chiang Mai, undertaken with the help of OMF and the Thai Bible Society, producing translations in Shan, Pwo Karen, Burmese, and Lawa.

(89) Bible translation is a highly political matter. Thomas Nelson, the largest and one of the oldest Bible publishers, produced the Revised Standard Version in 1946 and the New KJV in 1976. In 1975, there were two meetings of the North American

Overview Committee (in Nashville and Chicago) to prepare publishing guidelines for the NKJV. The committee included CNP/Religious Roundtable members Tim LaHaye, D. James Kennedy, Jerry Falwell, Ben Hayden, Mary Crowley, W.A. Criswell, E.V. Hill, Henry Morris, Charles Stanley, and Bill Bright. (see Judy Pinalto: 'Unholy Hands On God's Word', 1996, for details of the Reconstructionist agenda guiding the NKJV's publication.). The NIV is the preferred 'modern English' translation of the Assemblies of God, partly because of the dominionist tenor of the translation—in addition, Life Publishing International has published an Assemblies-approved Bible version for youth, based on the 'Life in the Spirit Study Bible', which is an official Assemblies of God study bible produced in NIV and KJV versions.

There are also at least three "gender-neutral" revisions of the New Testament, including the IBS's revision of the New International Version (http://www.bible-researcher.com/tniv.html)

(90) The adjustment of God's Word to modern technology goes beyond publishing. Zondervan estimates that for every 100 people in the U.S., Germany, the U.K., Japan, and France, there are 76 cellular phones - Japan alone (in 2007) had 100 million mobile subscribers. In particular, mobile technology is rapidly being absorbed into the cultures of 'developing countries', with the number of Wi-Fi hotspots and users skyrocketing, especially in the Asia-Pacific region. Given such trends, Zondervan sees catering for mobile websites as part of its mission to 'meet the needs of people with resources to glorify Jesus Christ and promote biblical principles': thus, its http://zvan.mobi and http://zbible.mobi are designed for easy readability on small screens.

See: http://ied.gospel.com.net/mobile-outreach.php, and also: http://www.lausanneworldpulse.com/worldreports.735/06-2007.

The Hidden History of World Vision

(91) For a favourable general account of World Vision, see Tim Stafford: The Colossus of Care (Christianity Today, March, 2005)

(92) On Richard Stearns, see: Richard Stearns Interview in http://blog.guykawasaki.com/2007/05/ten_or_so_quest.html; Nina Shapiro: The AIDS Evangelists (Seattle Weekly, Nov. 15th, 2006).

(93) On Samaritan's Purse, see The Separationist (Newsletter of the Secular Humanists of the Low Country), March, 2001. (http://lowcountry.humanists.net/SEPS/sep-2001-03.html). Also http://www.atheists.org/ftpfiles/AANEWS/aanews00.891). Another World Vision spin-off is International Aid, which is also involved in U.S. military programmes in Central America and Southeast Asia. On International Aid, see Jeff Smith: 'Keep Your Charity, We Want Justice: International Aid and the Role of 'Humanitarian' Assistance' (The FUNdamentalist, March, 1994 —also on: http://www.mediamouse.org/resources/underground.php?articleId=21.

(94) For World Vision's corporate 'partners' (in 2005), see: www.worldvision.org/worldvision/pr.nsf/stable/press_wvinus_partners.

(95) On the role of World Vision in Guyana, before and after the Jonestown massacre, see: John Judge: The Black Hole of Guyana: The Untold Story of the Jonestown Massacre, in www.ratical.org/ratville/JFK/JohnJudge/Jonestown.html, and also http://conspiracypage.wordpress.com/2007/10/24/jonestown/. See also Judge's article 'Assassination as a Tool of Fascism', and http://www.whale.to/b/jonestown1.html. The wider political context of the Jonestown episode, including the settlement of Hmong refugees, is dealt with on: http://www.guyana.org/features/postindependence/chapter15.html. For a more general analysis of the role of 'NGOs' in counter-insurgency, see Deb Preusch and Tom Barry: 'The Soft War: The Uses and Abuses of U.S. Economic Aid in Central America'. James 'Bo' Gritz' book about his work in US Special Forces ("Called To Serve") gives details of the evangelicals' role in the Jonestown events. See: http://www.subversiveelement.com/Firefromsky20.html, and http://www.atheistalliance.org/lowcountry/sep-03-2001.html#6

World Vision's role in managing Palestinian refugee camps is discussed in an interview with John Judge on http://www.ratical.org/ratville/JFK/JohnJudge/112600.html

(96) World Vision's role in Southeast Asia has been longstanding and vital. Stanley Mooneyham, President of the agency in the early 1970s, defined its position as supporting "my good friend Lon Nol leading his people in their heroic fight against Communism." (see Jim Wallis: The New Radicals). Mooneyman was also active in the Philippines, promoting Christ The Only Way project with the help of O.C., and later played an impressive role in Lebanon, during the Israeli invasion.

Robert Seiple, who became WV President in 1989, was already active in Vietnam when Mooneyman was in the top job. B. Raman, of the South Asian Analysis Group, mentions 'an unsubstantiated allegation that as a U.S. Marine pilot Seiple flew clandestine missions for the CIA to supply the Meo tribes... who had been trained by the CIA for fighting against the Communists, and that after completing his tour of duty in Vietnam, he had served till 1971 in the CIA division responsible for the use of U.S. missionaries for the collection of intelligence abroad." (B. Raman, 'US Report on Religious Freedom in India: A Critique' in SAAG, Sept. 25th, 1999, on: http://www.saag.org/papers/paper82.html.) Raman's critique examines more generally the political role of World Vision and its senior functionaries like Seiple. (See also http://freetruth.50webs.org/D4f.htm).

There are many other strategic—though less well-known—regions of conflict where World Vision is active. In November, 2007, the agency's offices in Manipur were bombed, allegedly by the People's United Liberation Front—a group seeking to protect the Muslim minority of Northeast India. World Vision has been involved in Manipur (which borders Assam, Mizoram, Nagaland, and Myanmar) at least since the early 1990s. It works with a number of Christian agencies, concentrating on HIV/AIDS schemes, and with the Columbia University's Global Campaign for Peace Education team—in a region fraught with conflicts based strongly on religious

differences. Manipur State, with a Hindu majority, has a large Christian minority (35%) and a smaller Muslim minority (8%), while Nagaland, which is overwhelmingly Baptist, is torn by rivalry between various outside pressures and rival groups of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland—one based in Myanmar, and one fiercely Christian with arms supplied from various countries in Southeast Asia.

(97) The Head of USAID at the time, Andrew Natsios, was for some years vice-president of World Vision. 'Aid programs' were administered by the State Department rather than the Defense Department, to avoid the perception that the U.S. presence in Iraq was occupation (see Jane Perlez: 'A Nation At War: Care Packages' (NY Times, April 1st,2003) For World Vision in Iraq, see: Statement of Serge Duss (WV Director of Public Policy and Advocacy) to Committee on Government Reform, Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives, 18.7.03; Doug Merlino: 'Aid Agencies Make Faustian Bargain' Alternet May 30th,2003 (also as http://www.alternet.org/waroniraq/16048?page=Z); the Dick Straub Interview: Robert Seiple on the War in Iraq (Christianity Today, April 1st, 2003); 'Pentagon's Man in Iraq has experience, character, and one tough job' in Turkish Daily News, April 29th, 2003 (on Chris Seiple and Jay Garner) (also as: www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/archives.php?id=32062); Ariana Eunjung Cha: Christian Missionaries Battle for Hearts and Minds in Iraq (Washington Post, May 16th, 2004), and Paul McGeough: 'Missionaries' War for Souls Raises Iraq tension' (The Age, Mar.25th, 2004).

(98) On the position of the Christian minority, and Kurdistan, see: Peter Lamprecht: 'Iraq: Christians Debate Self Autonomy to Halt Exodus (Compass Direct, Dec. 23rd, 2006), also as: http://religion.info/english/articles/article 287.shtml. See also: www.christiansofiraq.com, www.nineveh.com, http://www.themesopotamian.org, and www.originaldissent.com/forums/showthread.php?t=1731. The situation of Iraq's Christian minority has immeasurably worsened as a result of their identification with Western policy. (see Patrick Cockburn: 'Pogrom Against Mosul's Christians', on http://www.counterpunch.org/patrick10132008.html)

While mainstream evangelicals have tapped eagerly into the problems of Arab Christians, it should be noted that the 'Armageddonites' deny their existence, as they are not 'born again'. According to Gabriel Habib, of the Middle Eastern Council of Churches, Pat Robertson's 700 Club refused to show film of the minority because it was feared that if Americans realized such people existed they would stop funding mission in the region. (Gabriel Habib: '... And What About Arab Christians?')

(99) For some idea of the 'social network' of individuals like Bob Pierce and Robert Seiple, see www.namebase.org/cgi-bin/nb06? PIERCE BOB.

(100) On Chris Seiple's view of Christian mission, see 'From the President: American Evangelicalism: (I) Peril and Promise, and (II) Faith or Ideology?' (2.3.2004) on: www.globalchristian.org/articles/article.aspx?id=7240.

(101) World Vision's recent role in Vietnam (as the Institute for Global Engagement) is discussed in Marc Galli: 'A New Day in Vietnam' (Christianity Today, 4.5.07), and on: www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2007/may/24.26.html.

(102) See Seiple's testimony to the Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, on religious freedom and pntr, in which he discusses similar liaison work for the U.S. Government in the Afghanistan-Pakistan border region, on: http://www.usvtc.org/trade/wto/coalition/TestimonySeiple12Jul06.pdf. On this subject, the view of Scott Moreau, Professor of Missions and Intercultural Studies at Wheaton College, is worth noting. Referring to the South Korean government's decision to negotiate a hostage release with the Taliban, Moreau says: "The U.S. certainly abides by the separation of Church and State. To negotiate on behalf of an agency would raise all kinds of thorny issues." (Christianity Today, Nov. 7th, 2007)

(103) On World Vision's 'ownership' of IJM, see Andrew Natsios's remarks at a State Department Conference on the Global Fight Against Sex Trafficking, February 2003, on: http://www.usaid.gov/press/speeches/2003/sp030225a.html.

(104) An unfriendly view of World Vision/IJM's battle against the sex trade in Thailand appears in: Sheri Scott: 'World Vision and its Little Virgin Angels', also as http://inquisition21.com/article~view~page_num~11.html, also: http://www.inquisition21.com?article~view~116~page_num~8.html for a wide-ranging survey of the overseas activities of American 'child protection' agencies—from the same skeptical viewpoint. The author stresses the hidden political agenda of such groups.

For a favourable view, see McBride: "Going on a Rescue Mission: Exotic pro bono targets Thailand's exploitative sex industry" (The Recorder, 13.6.2001), also as: http://www.law.com/regionals/ca/opinions/stories/ed+0613_com_mcbr.shtml. More interesting is the article by Samantha Power, "The Enforcer: A Christian Lawyer's Global Crusade", in The New Yorker, January 19, 2008 (http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2009/01/19/090119_fact_power.) Samantha Power, now Senior Director for Multilateral Affairs on Obama's National Security Council, has written lengthily on the US political response to genocide in various parts of the world. Her position, like that of World Vision and IJM, reflects the political selectivity of the US establishment, and has been strongly criticized for this. See Chase Madar: "Samantha Power and the Weaponization of Human Rights" (Counterpunch, 10 Sept, 2009) (http://www.counterpunch.org/madar09102009.html) and Edward S. Herman: "Richard Holbrooke, Samantha Power, and the 'worthy genocide' Establishment" (Kafka Era Studies, No 5, ZNet, March 24, 2007) (http://www.zmag.org/znet/viewArticle/14622) More significantly, Power makes it clear that UM fulfils a crucial role in the US Government's use of "human rights" as a militarily enforceable political sanction, backed by evangelical Christian dogma.

(105) As part of its brief, IJM links with mission groups amongst the hill tribes in a campaign to get tribal people to register for citizenship. Without citizenship, says

IJM, land ownership is impossible—and hill tribe women are more vulnerable to being 'trafficked'. (www.saratogafederated.com/missions/updates/ijm.htm.)

(106) On World Vision and HIV/AIDS in Africa, see the Congressional Statement by Bruce Wilkinson of World Vision, before the International Relations Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, June 13th,2002.

(107) IJM's 'mission statement' reads as follows: "One may ask why IJM needs to engage in this work when there are local police forces and government authorities to handle it ... much of the time local authorities cannot be relied upon for relief. And is that not exactly when the Body of Christ is called to step in and stand in the gap? As the prophet Ezekiel proclaims, and Gary Haugen quotes on p.99 of his book: 'Her (Jerusalem's) princes ... devour people, take treasures and precious things, and make many widows .... Her officials ... shed blood and kill people to make unjust gain .... The people of the land practice extortion, and commit robbery; they oppress the poor and the needy and mistreat the alien, denying them justice. 'I looked for a man among them who would build up the wall and stand before me in the gap on behalf of the land so I would not have to destroy it, but I found none.'(Ezekiel 22: 25-30) And that is precisely what IJM does, stand in the gap spiritually and physically, bringing power to the side of the powerless." (http://www.rocknewhaven.org/Justice_copy(2).htm.)

A Tale of Two Haggais

(108) See John Haggai: *The Leading Edge*, for a broad autobiographical sweep.

(109) China Native Evangelistic Crusade would later become Partners International, and an affiliate of YWAM.

(110) Inevitably, some high-profile critics of Islam and Hindusim have passed through the Institute as lecturers – for example, John Ankerberg in 1997.

(111) See the article 'Films Served As Bait' (Torch, Nov. 2007). Also InterComm's own site: http://www.intercommedia.org/newletter/1_newsletter.htm

(112) Over the years, Haggai International has spread its net widely, and in some surprising corners. Anahit Malakyan, of the National Leadership Institute in Yerevan, Armenia, lectured at Haggai. In the United Arab Emirates, the membership of Christian Leadership Amongst Youth (or CLAY) are mostly Haggai graduates. The Pakistani convert Daniel Nalliah (or Daniel Scot), leader of Catch The Fire Ministries Inc., was a regular lecturer at Haggai between 1997 and 2002. In Florida, another Haggai veteran, John Haynes, sits on the board of Agape Flights—the mission airline linked to gun and drug running, and the training of Mohammed Atta, one of the

'9/11' pilots (for Agape Flights, see www.tpmuckraker.com/archives/001491.php and www.madcowprod.com/issue07.ntml).

(113) On Nagaland, see Spengler: Christianity Finds A Fulcrum in Asia, on: http://www.atimes.com/atimes/printN.html. Also Manpreet Singh: 'The Soul Hunters of Central Asia (Christianity Today, Feb., 2006), also on: http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2006/february/38.51.html.

(114) Haggai International has naturally strong links with many regional evangelical groups, such as OMF, SIM Malaysia, and FGBMFI Malaysia. In June, 2007, Dr Chen Lip Siong was appointed General Secretary for SIM Malaysia—Dr Chen had previously been Training Director for Haggai Institute (Chinese Division), as well as Assistant Bishop of Basel Church Sabah, and Head of the Mission Department at Sabah Seminary. (since 1998, SIM has represented the amalgamated forces of Africa Evangelical Fellowship, Sudan Interior Mission, and International Christian Fellowship, and Dr Chen's appointment marked the agency's expansion into Malaysia). Lee Chin How, Haggai Institute's Regional Representative for Southeast Asia, was previously Central Region Group Coordinator for FGBMF(Malaysia).

(115) On Singapore's attraction to the evangelicals, see also: 'Singapore Takes on World Mission', on http://www.cbn.com/CBNnews/326584.aspx.

(116) On the Eastern Lightning episode, see the China Gospel Fellowship Statement of July 7th,2002, on http://www.chinaforjesus.com/cgf/070702/CGF_july_7_2002_E_6.htm.

(117) The China Gospel Fellowship is a national grouping which operates mainly at the level of the "Chai Hui", or missionary sending agency—a regional body which comes into being once more than 30,000 baptized Christians have been recognized, and a certain number of trained leaders and training centers exist. By 2005, there were at least 22 C.G.F. "chai huis". The key to the whole system is the house church. Although house churches in China are amongst the strongest in the world, there is still a need (recognized by such agencies as Haggai Institute) to influence the development ideologically and in terms of organizational efficiency.

(118) For details of Christian Right funding, see the exhaustive survey of West Michigan philanthropy by Media Mouse/Grand Rapids News and Independent Media, on http://www.mediamouse.org. This contains a full breakdown of donations made by the main family foundations of the region—such as the DeVos, Van Andel, and Prince foundations. Useful articles in this series include: 'Holland's Edgar and Elsa Prince Foundation Major Local and National Supporter of the Religious Right' on: http://www.mediamouse.org/features/022707holla.php; and 'Blackwater Founder and West Michigan Native Funds Rightwing Through Foundation' on: http://www.mediamouse.org/features/092706black.php.

(119) On the Maclellan Foundation and Unum Provident, see: http://economicapocalypseblogspot.com/2006_01_01_economicapocalypse/archive.html. , and also http://www.insidermagazine.com/

Also the Media Transparency survey, and: www.thegathering.com/_pdf/CultureWars.pdf

(120) By definition, the line between public legality and private enterprise is often somewhat blurred within the kind of economic system which the evangelicals favour. Not surprisingly, a number of Haggai's main supporters have a close experience of the U.S. courts. Henry F. McCamish, a specialist in "executive compensation and benefit planning and funding" was party to at least one tax write-off scheme found to be "sham" and "of no economic substance" in U.S. courts, while Hugh Maclellan, chairman of Unum Provident, was found to have engaged in stock sales from his personal portfolio and that of his family's religious foundation (the Maclellan Foundation) during a $144 million insider trading escapade between 2004 and 2006. Unum Provident was accused of setting up a "religious front" to conceal billions of dollars siphoned from investors and policy-holders: "The Maclellan Foundation definitely has hooks into the Bush White House, the IRS, federal courts, and the US Department of Labor, and it may have received millions from US Government-sponsored faith-based initiatives." UnumProvident was fined $22 million under Department of Labor and California Insurance Commission regulations. Corporate business-based Christian mission will always find it hard to avoid being embarrassed by capitalism. The National Director of FGBMF from 1983 to 1995, James Gregory Ziegler, was apparently the brother (and business associate) of the Dominion of Melchizedek Ambassador Gilbert Allen Ziegler, who founded the First National Bank of Grenada. The Dominion of Melchizedek was created to expedite the operations of a global money laundering syndicate—which, in one way or another, drew in scores of front companies, Pacific islands, a slice of Antarctica, Indonesia, Christian Science, evangelical groups like FGBMF and Potter's House ... and many billions of dollars. See article by The Offshore Informant: 'American Global Economic Terrorist Network' (Jan.16th, 2008), on: http://www.taxhelpattorney.com/fr.php?URL=rogueimc.org/en/2008/01/9881.shtml.

(121) On Dick DeVos, see Russ Bellant: 'Dick DeVos Unraveled' (Street Cred, Oct-Nov,2006), on: http://streetcredonline.com/pub/StreetCred3%20WebVersion%20Oct%208%202006.pdf, and Curt Guyette: 'You Don't Know Dick' (Detroit Metro Times, 10.4.06) on http://www.metrotimes.com/editorial/story.asp?id=9712, and 'Profile of Dick DeVos' on: http://liberalvaluesblog.com/?p=561.

(122) The President of Christian Freedom International, Jim Jacobson, was a policy analyst in the Reagan Administration, a political appointee in the administration of George H.W. Bush, and a senior legislative assistant in the U.S. Senate. CFI is deeply involved not only in Sudan, but in resettling Karenni Christians from Burma, and in bible smuggling to China.

(123) On Erik Prince and Blackwater, see Jeremy Scahill: Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army (Nation, 2007); interview with Scahill, on: http://prairieweather.typepad.com/the_scribe/2007/03/blackwater_usa_.html; Jeremy Scahill: 'In The Black(water)' (5.6.06), which also covers Blackwater's role in New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina, on: http://www.tulanelink.com/tulanelink/blackwater2_box.htm. On Prince's "Knights Templar" connections, see Noel Grima: 'Malta 'is Blackwater's Operational Base'—MEP Report' on http://www.independent.co.mt/news.asp?newsitemid=59033 , "Christian Faith Under Attack" on www.orderofmaltacolombia.org indicates the SMOM's involvement in various areas of conflict, including Aceh, Maluku, Vietnam, and (through the German Malteser International) Myanmar. See also: http://aftermathnews.wordpress.com/2007/10/01/blackwater-knights-of-malta-in-iraq/

(124) On IGA generally, and in China, see Len Lewis: 'IGA: Expanding the Global Family', Elsevier Food International, Vol 9, No 3, Sept. 2006; and 'It's Getting Hotter in the East' (BusinessWeek, Aug 22,2005).

(125) In 2008, for example, IGA signed a franchise agreement with Good Life China Corporation, which owns a chain of supermarkets in Hebei Province. For details of Good Life China Corporation, its marketing structure, and its shops, see http://www.goodlifechina.com/about.php.

Devils in High Places

(126) A good introduction to the Akha people and their setting is the report by the Highland Research Institute of MPCD/SEAMP: 'Regional Development in Northern Thailand: Its Impact on Highlanders', on: www.hani-akha.org/mpcd/hani-akha/Development.html, and www.hani-akha.org/mpcd/hani-akha/Tourism.html. See also: http://www.hilltribe.org/article/04-article-problemweb.php.

But by far the most interesting source on the Akha is the website of Matthew McDaniel's Akha Heritage Foundation (www.akha.org). This offers many pages of information trawled from a wide range of sources—including considerable personal experience in Northern Thailand. It is at times scrappy, but it repays close attention. See, for example: www.akha.org/content/missiondocuments/missioninterventionbodley.html. www.akha.org/content/missions/index.html. www.akha.org/upload/akachronicles/chapter24drugsandthedrugwar.htm.

(127) The drug business has long been coordinated, at the highest levels, as a key element of U.S. foreign policy. For some time, Attorney General Ed Meese and Undersecretary of State Richard Armitage, as members of Restricted Access Group 1, were in charge of the Foreign Narcotics Control Office in the State Department, which was responsible for coordinating the CIA drugs business. See: http://portland.indymedia.org/en/2004/11/304605.shtml.

The hill people provide an effective prop for consumerism in other ways, too. See: www.landrover.com/US/an/Products/Range_Rover/Gallery/video.htm.

(128) For people like the Akha, the drug problem is increasingly one of "hard drugs" like methamphetamines, now being produced along the Thailand-Burma border. In 2001, an estimated 700 million Amphetamine Type Stimulant (ATS) tablets were smuggled into Thailand, partly for Thailand's three million 'illicit drug users', according to the Bureau for International Narcotics & Law Enforcement Affairs (Internat. Narcotics Control Strategy Report, 2001). See also Thomas Fuller: 'Notorious Golden Triangle Loses Sway in the Opium Trade.' (International Herald Tribune, 11.9.07), as: www.iht.com/articles/2007/09/11/asia/golden.php?page=1.

(129) For a concise statement of the evangelical strategy for Thailand, see: "Rationale for selecting the Thai people as our target group", on: http://www.pastornet.net.au/awf-apac/partnerships/report_thai2001_1.html. The Thai are considered a "Gateway People Cluster' with potential for reaching other unreached people groups in the region. They are especially targeted when working overseas (there are 200,000 working in Taiwan, 70,000 in Singapore, for example), because they are then living outside their home Buddhist environment—such converts will evangelize on their return home. The high percentage of Thai overseas workers from the northeast is also seen as a strategic benefit for missions.

(130) On the Zionist connection with Mizoram, see 'The Politics of 'Lost Tribe" on: www.grassrootsoptions.org/index.php?module=Pagesetter&func=viewpub&tid=2&pid=1

Also Stephen Epstein: 'A Long Lost Tribe is Ready to Come Home' www.bneimenache.com/articles.html.

(131) For an insight into Chiangmai's missionary lifestyles, see: http://www.homeexchange.com/show.php?id=65504&save=1. Steve and Oddny Gumaer work amongst refugees from (and within) Burma for the YWAM affiliate Partners Relief and Development (www.partnersworld.org). They advertized their Chiangmai house for rent while they went on home leave, and this site provides a good idea of the four-bedroom property "in one of Chiang Mai's premier gated communities"—which benefits from a "top end spa, a club house with tennis courts, and a nice swimming pool, as well as a Thai lanna style restaurant.". In a review of Oddny's book 'Displaced Reflections', David Eubank (of Free Burma Rangers) writes: 'Oddny Gumaer asks: "How am I different than the displaced people of Burma?" The answer is a humble outpouring from the heart and mind of a woman who strives to speak of what is right and live what is true. This book of strength and beauty bears witness to the faith, hope, and love that shines through the displaced people of Burma.' See: http://partnersworld.org/usa_cart/product_info.php?products_id=32.

(132) On CNEC's activities in Southeast Asia, especially amongst children, see: http://pachome.1.pacific.net.sg/~cnecsea/prayer.htm. Pentecostal/Charismatic churches

are just as generous with mission funding. Singapore's New Creation Church, for example, with a 17,000-strong congregation, uses 10% of its annual budget (of US$40 million) for mission.

(133) For full details of Paul Lewis's role, including the accusations and Lewis's rebuttal, as well as the Akha response to this rebuttal, see: www.akha.org/upload/akhachronicles/chapter20missionaries.htm.

(134) David Fulbrook's 'Thailand's gold rush for God' (Asia Times, May15th,2004) gives a good summary of the impact of evangelization upon life in Northern Thailand. (http://atimes01.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/FE15Ae02.html. See also: www.eco-action.org/mission/akha1.html.

For evangelization of the Wa people, in Burma and Thailand, see Free Burma Rangers: "Wa Outreach in Thailand"—Annual Report 2005, Frontier Mission Project of the Presbyterian Church(USA) (http://www.freeburmarangers.org/Reports/2006/20060314_wa.html.)

(135) See Antonio Graceffo: 'A Tale of Three Tribes' (Asia Sentinel. July 16, 2007). On Baptist activities in India, and the effects of conversions on a North Andhra village, see 'Change in the Winds: A New Religion Takes Root' (Andhra Jyothy, 25.3.07).

(136) See Prasit Leepreecha: 'The Politics of Ethnic Tourism in North Thailand', in the Workshop on Mekong Tourism: Learning Across Borders, Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, Feb. 25th,2005. The Thai authorities are fully aware of the tourist potential of the hill people: according to the UNHCR, Burmese Kayan refugee women were forcibly confined to settlements around Mae Hong Song because they were an attraction on the tourist route (Andrew Harding: "Burmese Women in Thai 'Human Zoo'", BBC News, Jan. 28th, 2008).

(137) For an account of such a ritual burning, see www.sanborns.org/seananne/march07.htm.

(138) For a particularly elaborate example of 'contextualizing' a people for the purpose of evangelization, see the Thai Covenant Church's study of the Issan of eastern Thailand. The contextualization exercise aids targeted scripture translation too—thus, the Jesus Film was given an Akha translation which implied that Akha elders were responsible for Christ's death. See also the Overseas Missionary Fellowship's "Teaching Program for New Believers", for a detailed, step-by-step guide to converting new tribal Christians. The guide, produced in Chiang Mai, can be downloaded on http://www.thaicrc.com/gsdl/collect/MIS/index/assoc/D1784.dir/1784.pdf.

(139) www.infomekong.com/prayer_akha_051102.htm. Infomekong is an affiliate of Overseas Missionary Fellowship. To Infomekong, the Akha "are some of the most spiritually oppressed groups in the region."

(140) www.akha.org/content/missiondocuments/typicalmissiondata.html. Compare the missions' own publicity, for example http://www.orphansofthailand.com/signup.htm.

(141) On Richard Haugland's enterprises, see the report by Natasha Day on: www.akha.org/content/blog/page7.html.

(142) Thailand has the fastest-growing incidence of HIV/AIDS, with 800,000 infected, and almost every village affected. As a result, the country is a target for all the West's major AIDS charities such as the Elton John AIDS Foundation and the CARE Living With AIDS Program. "AIDS tourism" is a by-product of this: during the 2004 AIDS Conference, participants were offered "empowering visits to hill tribe areas at $90 per day."(Hill Tribe Education Center)

(143) See http://08th0515rl1.myadventures.org/ for personal accounts, by young short-term evangelists, of Adventure in Mission trips to Northern Thailand.

(144) On Teen Mania, see http://nyc.indymedia.org/es/2006/05/69762.html Ron Luce was appointed by President George Bush to the White House Advisory Commission on Drug-Free Communities.

(145) In 2008, the following disclaimer appeared on Global Expedition's website, in place of the original posting: "The purpose of this trip is to bless the local community through service projects and working with at-risk youth from the surrounding areas. We are NOT rescuing sex slaves, and our intended ministry in these countries has no relation to the sex trade." (http://www.globalexpeditions.com/projects.php?ProjectName=Thailand%20-%20Laos)

(146) See the autobiography of YWAM's founder, Loren Cunningham: 'Is That Really You, God?' (Chosen Books, 1984), and a critical review of this by Greg Robertson on http://www.geocities.com/promo777/hearvoice.htm. YWAM was founded together with Teen Challenge: "In the early 1960s, David Wilkerson, his wife, Loren and Darlene Cunningham, and Howard and Pat Foltz, prayed together in Colorado. Their prayer birthed three ministries: Teen Challenge USA (Wilkerson), YWAM (Cunninghams), and Teen Challenge Europe-Asia (Foltz)"—most mission groups owe their founding to revelation, not to strategic planning. For more details of YWAM from a critical evangelical perspective, see 'Youth With A Mission—Ecumenical (Catholic/Charismatic) Evangelism' on: http://www.rapidnet.com/~jbeard/bdm/Psychology/ywam.htm, and 'YWAM and Benny Hinn Agree to Work Together!' (which takes YWAM to task for its Reconstructionist and Charismatic links), on http://www.letusreason.org/Curren29.htm. An account of YWAM's roots in Moral Rearmament (and much else) is Anton Chaitkin's article "The Axis of YWAM" , Executive Intelligence Review, Sept 22,2006, also on: http://larouchepub.com/other/2006/3338ywam.html.

See John Dawson's 'Taking Our Cities For God' and 'Healing America's Wounds' for the work of one of YWAM's key ideologues.

(147) The University of the Nations claims 277 'campuses' in 98 countries. See: http://www.uofnkona.edu/transformations/pdfs/spring05.pdf.

(148) In 1993, YWAM arranged a "reconciliation" between whites and Native Americans over the Sand Creek massacre in 1864. The ceremonial repentance was carefully worded to indicate that such incidents involve good and bad on both sides. See James Goll: "Healing the Wounds of the First Nations People" (http://www.elijahlist.com/words/display_word/7643) James Goll, a member of Wagner's International Coalition of Apostles, is perhaps best known for his elaborate end time prophecies.

(149) Foundation, May/June, 2000, p.9

(150) For background on the YWAM provenance of 'The Path to 9/11' see: http://www.yuricareport.com/Media/YouthWithAMissionAndMakingOfFraudFilm.html (which includes the cache of an incriminating blog-site, removed by YWAM: http://www.markandkrista.com/4559.html, and http://www.markandkrista.com/30257.html.) See also http://dneiwert.blogspot.com/2006/09/covering_their_tracks.html,

The complexities of corporate involvement are discussed on: http://forums.therandirhodesshow.com/lofiversion/index.php/t96251.html. The site examines the backgrounds of Governor Thomas Kean and David Novak of Yum! Brands.

(151) For Ron Boehme's diary of YWAM's July 2000 Mongolian crusade, see: http://www.elisharequest.com/journal/html.

(152) The Paradise Gathering, it must be said, was in the end more notable for hyperbole than for attendance. It attracted perhaps a thousand people.

(153) On Ron Boehme and his thoughts, see: http://usrenewal.org/?page_id=438, and Ron Boehme's "Militants at Home, Militants Abroad", on http://www.ywamdb.com/articles.html.

(154) One of the first occupants of Boehme's "hostel" was Rep. Steve Largent, who in 2004 became the president of the Cellular Telecommunications and Internet Association. The interest of men like Largent, Olsen, and Phillips in the Fellowship is only partly spiritual. Phillips (like Olsen) was for decades a trustee for the Gordon-Conwell Theological College, and in retirement has lectured on Christian leadership: "A leader," says Phillips, "is a dealer in hope." Phillips (like Olsen, Largent, and McDonnell) has also long been a key figure in military electronics manufacture: Raytheon, the West's leading manufacturer of surface-to-air missiles (Patriot, Hawk, and Stinger), also produces the Sidewinder and Phoenix air-to-air missiles, and the

Maverick air-to-ground missile. On Boehme's (and YWAM's) links to the Fellowship Foundation, see Anton Chaitkin: "The Axis of YWAM" op cit.

(155) The Fellowship is characterized by Joyce and Sharlet as "a blend of Calvinism and Norman Vincent Peale ... a cheery faith in the 'elect' chosen by a single voter—God—and a devotion to Romans 13:1: 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers ... the powers that be are ordained by God.' The Fellowship believes that the elite win power by the will of God, who uses them for his purpose. Its mission is to help the powerful understand their role in God's plan." (Kathryn Joyce and Jeffrey Sharlet: Hilary's Prayer, in Mother Jones, 1.9.07). The conception is much the same as Moral Rearmament's "God-controlled leaders". On Hillary Clinton's link to the Fellowship, see: http://animar.wordpress.com/2008/03/25/hillary-and-the=fellowship/

(156) See Sharlet: Jesus Plus Nothing on the Fellowship Youth Corp.

Indonesia: Missions, Mines, and Muslims

(157) On Forcey Memorial Church, see http://www.forcey.org/uploads/focus_200603.pdf, and www.forcey.org/Forcey/Missions/fmc_missions_lantang.php. For details of Christian Service Brigade, its organization and its philosophy, see: http://www.csbministries.org/index.php?/site/programs/battalion, and: http://csbministries.org/rodsweb/stockade.htm. The CSB illustrates well the use of "obedience to Christ", within a militaristic chain of command, as a means of exerting influence and control, and creating tight political networks. Its founder, Joseph Coughlin, puts it this way: "The formation and its function are clearly based on the military system. It is not a military organization except in the spiritual sense, that the boys are in preparation for serving as soldiers of Christ."

(158) Peter Hammond, of the Baptist Frontline Fellowship, expresses the view eloquently:

> "Indonesia is the largest Muslim nation on earth. Many hundreds of Christian churches have been burned to the ground and tens of thousands of Christians (sic) massacred by Muslim mobs....The Indonesian government has been a major supporter and ally of the radical National Islamic Front government in Sudan and the Al Queda terrorist network has received substantial support from Indonesian Muslims. Thailand is renowned as the sex tourism destination of the world. Thailand has made a vast industry out of child prostitution and every kind of vile persecution and vice.
>
> "Could idol-worshipping polytheists and pagans who have steadfastly resisted the Gospel message for generations, persecuting their neighbours who have turned to the Lord Jesus, have something to learn from the

Tsunamis?"(http://www.christianaction.org.za/articles_ca/2005-1-DroughtsTsunamis,God.htm)

(159) On the Aceh situation more generally, following the tsunami, see Andre Vitchek: 'Aceh Abandoned: The Second Tsunami' (http://www.oaklandinstitute.org/?q=node/view/145. EXXON-Mobil's natural gas field in Aceh produced almost a quarter of Mobil's worldwide earnings in the early 1990s, according to the Wall Street Journal. "The Indonesian Army provided security for EXXON-Mobil installations and human rights activists have charged that the company's facilities have been used by the army for rape, torture, and murder. The corporation is being sued in the U.S. by relatives of the victims." (Scott: 'Drugs, Oil, and War (Rowman and Littlefield, 2003). (See Pacific News Service, Aug 2001)

(160) For an analysis of the West's response to disaster, in its purely secular aspects, see Walden Bello: 'The Indonesian Quake: The rise of the relief and reconstruction complex' on: http://www.50years.org/cms/updates/story/326.

(161) On World Help, see: 'Crusader Watch: Missionaries Preying on Tsunami Survivors.' Jan 24,2005 (http://www.inminds.co.uk/tsunami.html); Michael Barrick: 'World Help Efforts Thwarted By Islamic Backlash', Wall Watchers, 2005; Alan Cooperman: 'For Tsunami orphans, a Christian Home' (Washington Post, Jan 13, 2005) (also on http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/6819471/); Alan Sipress: 'Christian Group Never Had Custody of Orphans', WP, Jan 15,2005 (also as: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A10647-2005Jan14.html). See also: Don Buckley: 'Florida Doctors, Nurses Aid Tsunami Survivors in Indonesia' (Florida Baptist Witness, Feb 3, 2005, also as http://www.floridabaptistwitness.com/3785.article). For John Piper of Desiring God Ministries see Florida Baptist Witness Jan 13th, 2005.

(162) In a related project, the American Bible Society's Hope Fund set up a 'Tsunami Initiative' so that 'concerned Bible partners' could participate in the relief effort, sending scriptures 'for orphaned children and grieving adults' in Nias and other affected areas. After clean water, food, and blankets, the next thing to be provided, according to the A.B.S. President, Dr Eugene Habecker, was a sense of hope: 'That hope comes from the God of the Bible and God's faithful servants, and that's where we come in.' http://www.prnewswire.com/cgi-bin/stories.pl?ACCT=104&STORY=/www/story/01-12-2005.

(163) At one point, there were some 500 agencies operating around Bandar Aceh, frequently in some chaos. Of course, numerous other countries were also affected by the tsunami, and these also attracted such groups. The reason for the enthusiasm amongst evangelicals, more generally, was expressed by Carl Gordon, the president of A.N.M.: "In this area of devastation are countries ruled by the prince of darkness. Held captive by Muslims, Buddhists, and Hindus, we find millions of people groups

(sic) unreached by the Gospel. Could this be an open door for us to display our weapons of forgiveness and love? What appears to be a terrible tragedy may open many hearts to the Savior as we follow Him into these flooded cities." See: http://www.adnamis.org/CoverStory-cfm?cover.id=28

(164) Florida Baptist Witness, Feb. 3rd,2005

(165) For a general introduction to the economic and political situation in Indonesia, see Curtis Runyan: 'Indonesia's Discontent', in World Watch, May-June, 1998. On Maluku, a good introduction is George Aditjondro's 'Maluku: While Elephants Fight, the People of Maluku Die', Asia-Pacific Network, Jan. 27th, 2000, on: http://www.asiapac.org.fj/cafepacific/resources/aspac/maluku.html. See also the contribution by Sidney Jones (Executive Director, Asia Division, Human Rights Watch) in Asia Society's panel discussion 'Causes of Conflict in Indonesia', Oct. 24th, 2000, on: http://www.asiasource.org/asip/sidneyjones.cfm. Reports on Indonesia by the International Crisis Group provide useful background to events in Aceh, Maluku, and Timor. See for example ICG Asia Reports No 10 (Dec. 19th, 2000) and No 19 (June 27th, 2001). (http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2001/icg_indo_10oct.pdf.). Also useful is Marianne Kearney: 'Who is Behind the Maluku Violence?' (Aljazeera.Net, May 14th, 2004, and http//www.prikpagina.nl/read.php?f=965&i19867&t=19867

(166) Joost Coote gives a helpful account of the complex history of the Christian Church in Central Sulawesi, in his 'From Christian Mission to Christian Citizen: The Indigenization of the Poso Mission'. For a relevant case study of evangelizing a tribal community, see Christopher R. Duncan: 'Untangling Conversion: Religious Change and Identity Among the Forest Tobelo of Indonesia' in Ethnology, Vol 42, 2003. Also as: http://www.questia.com/googleScholar.qst;jsessionid=JTFJPL6tGNKbJQyv8.

(167) For an account of the global role of the Southern Baptists, see J. Gerald Harris: 'Shining the Spotlight on the IMB's Church-planting Movement' (May 24th,2007), on: http://www.christianindex.org/3270.article The IMB sees the Baptists' "radical obedience" as key to their role: "Many Southern Baptists have... committed to become radically obedient by praying for the Muslim people of the world. God is using radically obedient Southern Baptists to penetrate the walls of Islam." (www.IMB.org)

On the Baptists' role in Maluku, including that of the Turning Point Fellowship and Kids on Mission, see: http://www.imb.org/Media/PhotoDownloads/ambonreport.htm ; http://www.imb.org/main/news/details.asp?LanguageID=1709&StoryID=610; http://www.bpnews.net/bpnews.asp?ID=10342; http://www.kidsonmission.org/room4god.htm; and for Students on Mission, see: http://thetask.org/students/Projects/ProjectDetails.asp?JobID=87802. For Drew Stephens, see The Commission, December, 2000.

Some 1.5 million US Christians travel abroad every year on short-term mission trips, according to an article by Robert J. Priest and others in Missiology, October 2006. Mission trips of two weeks or less rose from 63,995 in 1996 to 346,270 in 2001, and "amateur missionaries" outnumber professional missionaries by 10 to one. Most missions use such workers. Much of Rick Warren's PEACE Plan, for example, depends on short-term personnel.

Managing 'The Great Revival'

(168) On the covert role of the U.S. in events surrounding the Gestapu incident, see Kathy Kadane: 'Indonesia: CIA Compiled Death Lists in 1965' in South Carolina Herald Journal, May 19,1990 (also as: http://www.rrojasdatabank.org/cialists.htm). In a partly-declassified document, Ambassador Marshall Green tells Assistant Secretary Bundy, on December 1st, 1965: 'the chances of detection or subsequent revelation of our support in this instance are as minimal as any black bag operation can be ...' Green was referring to secretly funding Adam Malik to help him improve his relationship with the army. See: http://www.namebase.org/foia/indolist.html. See also David Easter's 'Keep The Indonesian Pot Boiling: Western Covert Intervention in Indonesia, October 1965-March 1966', available on http://www.wirantaprawira.de/pakorba/teil_15.html. On the role of the U.S. in psychological warfare, and terror tactics in particular, see Peter Dale Scott: 'Using Atrocities: U.S. Responsibility for the Slaughters in Indonesia and East Timor' (http://www.copi.com/articles/etimorus.html). Scott has published his investigation under various other titles, including 'Exporting Terror: East Timor and the U.S.' (1998). Former C.I.A. Director William Colby has acknowledged that the Phoenix Program (begun in Vietnam in 1967) was modeled on the CIA-Indonesian Army anti-PKI programme of 1965-66.

(169) On the Baptist presence in Indonesia during the 1960s, see Edward Owen Sanders' obituary in the Baptist News, June 21, 2001 (http://www.bpnews.net/bpnews.asp?ID=11169); J. Edwin Orr's 'Evangelical Awakening in the South Seas' (Bethany, 1976); Stanley Mooneyham: 'Revival and Miracles: What About Indonesia?' (World Vision, 16:8, September 1972); Avery T. Willis: 'Indonesian Revival: Why Two Million Came to Christ' (William Carey Press, 1977); and Ted E. York: 'Indigenous Missionaries – A Fruit of Revival: Lessons From the Indonesian Revival of 1965-71' (Jnl of Asian Mission Vol 5, No 2, 2003), on:
http://www.apts.edu/jam/5-2/T-York.pdf.

(170) On the Pentecostals in East Timor, see Mel Tari: 'The Gentle Breeze of Jesus' (Creation, 1974) and George W. Peters: "Indonesian Revival: Focus on Timor" (Zondervan, 1973); in Indonesia as a whole, Timothy Williams: 'Pentecostalism's Answer to Indonesia's Unreached Muslims' (Journal of Asian Mission 5: 1 (2003) and Jungja Ma: 'Pentecostal Challenge in East and Southeast Asia' in Murray W. Dempster et al: 'The Globalization of Pentecostalism' (Regnum Books, 1999).

(171) See W. Stanley Mooneyham: 'Demonism on the Mission Field: Problems of Communication a Difficult Phenomenon', in John Warwick Montgomery (ed.): 'Demon Possession' (Bethany Fellowship, 1976).

(172) Rankins' comments refer ostensibly to the hostility of Muslims to the Christian gospel, and reflect a common theme in evangelical publicity, restated in various forms by many mission leaders. The Red Sea Mission put it this way: "Think of us as 'secret agents'. Inside the raincoat pockets are hidden gospels in Urdu, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Gujerati. Beneath the housewife's exterior lurks a Persian language student. We are not what we seem. And our best stories cannot be told. If our target is the hidden people ... then we must be somewhat hidden ourselves." (for Rankin, see http://www.mnonline.org/article/9545).

(173) Peter Dale Scott, op. cit.

Angels in Dili

(174) In its 40 year existence, Indonesia's National Defence College has produced 954 graduates who have gained the rank of Lieutenant-General or higher. Of these, 163 were Christian – and mainly (60%) Protestant. Indonesia's Christian population is some 10-12% of the total; at 17%, Christian representation in the country's military elite is thus generous. For a list of graduates, by rank and religion, see Ikatan Alumni LEMHANNAS, on: ikal.or.id/alumni.asp?l=6&q=lst&key=&q2=Q&l=&t=

(175) For Mantiri's Harvest International honorary doctorate, see "Harvest International Beri Gelar Doktor HC kepada Tigah Tokoh" at http://www.sinarharapan.co.id/berita/0408/14/jab07.html.

(176) www.fgbmfi-europe.com/NetNews/ENG_02_2004.pdf.

(177) Pentecostalism is perhaps the fastest growing of all Christian denominations. In 1970, there were 74 million Pentecostalists/Charismatics (or six percent of the world's Christians). By 1997, there were 497 million (27%). Pentecostalists expect their number to increase to 1,140 million by 2025—that is, 44% of all Christians.

(178) see christianvision.com/graphicsite/.../asiapacific/easttimor.htm

The Nanyang Connection: Evangelizing the "Chinese Diaspora"

(179) See http://www.deceptioninthechurch.com/unsoundbytes1wagner.html for an account of Wagner's speech to the National School of the Prophets 2000 conference, and a critique of the movement. For C. Peter Wagner: 'The Great Transfer of

Wealth: Are You Ready?", see: http://www.theelijahlist.com/words/display_word.html?ID=2320.

(180) Cindy Jacobs' "Prophecy for Indonesia" (http://www.generals.org/index.php?id=642).

(181) For biographical details of Alex Tanuseputra, see: http://www.sabdaspace.org/pengkhotbah_top_ten_abraham_alex_tanuseputera_bahagian_1_0.

(182) For Eddy Leo and Abbalove Ministries, see: http://web.archive.org/web/20070701053247/www.abbalove.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=2&Itemid=3, also http://web.archive.org/web/20070810145413//synergize.tv/speakers. A good source is the set of articles by Christiane Prang: "Indonesia: Small Stones and Large Circles", in Natural Church Development On Line, May, June, and July, 2006—on Eddy Leo's mission work in Indonesia. (http://www.ncdnet.blogs.com/encdine/2006/05/indonesia_small.html)

(183) http://ncdnet.blogs.com/encdine/2006/05/indonesia_small.html.

(184) On Ed Cole, see http://www.disciplemen.com/node/829, and www.edcole.com.

(185) On the Christian Men's Network and James O. Davis, see: dogemperor: "Possible national Assemblies support of "Watchmen" leaders?" in Talk to Action, Reclaiming Citizenship, History, and Faith, March 10th, 2008, as: http://www.talk2action.org/story/2008/3/10/192137/067.

(186) For Oentoro and Living2Lead, see http://www.living2lead.com/?s=static&scode=S001.

(187) See http://jimmyoentoro.com/?page_id=2 for Oentoro and friends, including Zig Ziglar, John Calvin Maxwell, the Riadys, Indonesian army officers, and the late President Suharto.

(188) On Zig Ziglar, see Sandra Zaragoza: "Ziglar Hands Reins to Son, Son-in-law" in Dallas Business Journal, Mar. 23rd, 2007 (http://www.bizjournals.com/dallas/stories/2007/03/26/story6.html)

(189) On Focus on the Family's support for World Harvest see prnewswire.Jan.11th, 2005.

(190) J.Lee Grady, in Charisma, February 2007.

(191) For general discussion of CIA fronts for money laundering and arms dealing, and the case of Bishop, Baldwin, Rewald, Dillingham, and Wong, see: http://www.druggingamerica.com/EExplosive Secrets part.pdf, www.indybay.org/newsitems/2001/10/01/1052251.php, and http://www.namebase.org/cgi=bin/nb06/17058? REWALD RONALD RAY and for Indri Gautama's involvement, see: Owen Wilkes: "How the CIA Set up a Front in NZ" (NZ Monthly Review, February, 1987). See also Jonathan Kwitny: The Crimes of Patriots.

Bill and Hillary's Friends in Jakarta

(192) On the Riady-Clinton connection, and the shared interest in China, see: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/special/campfin/stories/cf052797.htm and Richard Poe: The Idiot's Guide to Chinagate. On the involvement of Pat Robertson (both as associate of the Riadys, and as one with strong interest in doing business in China), see: "Robertson 'off the radar screen' in midst of Chinagate soft-money scandal" in American Atheists, April 11th, 1999, as: http://www.atheists.org/flash.line/roberts3.htm. On Riady's and Robertson's shared interest in the International Family Entertainment channel, see: http://www.apfn.org/apfn/ties.htm, and http://www.indonesia-pusaka.com/1707aethnic.htm.

On the matter of political donations and the role of John Huang, see: http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/1998_rpt/sgo-sir/4-4.htm, and http://www.fec.gov/press/20020927mur.html.

See also: http://archive.newsmax.com/archives/articles/2003/5/26/214938.shtml. http://web.archive.org/web/20000817230627/www.freerepublic.com/forum/a1000400.htm. http://web.archive.org/web/20000815091234/www.freerepublic.com/forum/t1000170.htm.

(193) On Riady and Utah coal, see Sara Foster: "The Utah Coal Lockup: A Trillion $ Lippo Pay-off? (http://melbourne.indymedia.org/news/2006/12/135207.php) Also: http://www.apfn.org/apfn/lippo.htm, and http://www.justfacts.com/lippo.html

(194) On Riady's telecom plans, see Budi Putranto: Victim of Cyber Fever, on: http://www.hamline.edu/apakabar/basisdata/2001/10/18/0071.html. Control of telecommunications was one of the most crucial factors determining Western evangelical efforts in Southeast Asia. It helped explain the interest shown by Pat Robertson, for instance, and C. Holland Taylor and USA Global Link (see next section). As Jonathan Parapak (a minister for telecommunications in the Indonesian Government, and an associate of the Riadys) pointed out: "As long as the developing world is left behind in telecommunications, there cannot be true connectivity."

See http://www.apfn.org/apfn/ties.htm on Robertson's investment, with Riady, in International Family Entertainment. Also: http://www.indonesia-pusaka.com/1707aethnic.htm.

(195) Asiaweek, 11.10.1995.

(196) See Abidin Kusno: Behind The Post-Colonial: Architecture, Urban Space, and Political Cultures (Routledge, 2000)

(197) see http://swaramuslim.net/fakta/more.php?id=A2405_0_16_0_M, for Lippo, World Harvest, and Universitas Pelita.

God Men, Shaykhs, and Belly Dancers

(198) On US Global Link, see Pat Blake: "King of the Callbacks" (Telephony Online, May 26th, 1997) at: http://telephonyonline.com/mag/telecom_king_callbacks/ See also: Lee Leffler: "Well Connected: Fairfield's Soaring Phone Companies Are Leading the Business" in: http://fairfield.freehosting.net/96summer/wellconnected.html, and Patricia Boland: Telephoning Via the Internet (http://fairfield.freehosting.net/97may/usagl-net.html)

(199) On the Maharishi University, its Invincible Defense Technology Command Center, and the "Maharishi Effect", see: http://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/cienca/cienca_psionics.htm. On Chris Hartnett's links to the Maharishi, and other biographical detail, see: http://www.linkedin.com/pub/0/141/827, and http://www.dnjournal.com/cover/2008/june.htm.

(200) For C. Holland Taylor's biography, see: http://www.libforall.org/about-us-management-html http://www.zoominfo.com/search/PersonDetail.aspx?PersonID=21137553, www.usagl.com/press/p+oct96.ht. Sources include details of Taylor's role in developing Southeast Asia's telecommunications network during the 1990s.

(201) On the Internet's growing political significance, see: Tedjabayu Basuki: "Indonesia: The Web as a Weapon" (http://www.n5m.org/n5m3/pages/programme/articles/basuki/html) and Janet Steele: "Wars Within: The Story of Tempo" (Tempo was banned in 1994)

(202) www.usagl.com/press/p+oct96.ht , http://www.zoominfo.com/search/PersonDetail.aspx?PersonID=21137553.

(203) On Libforall's mission, see http://www.libforall.org/news~AP.html

(204) For Taylor's views on Islam, see his "Radical Islam: The New Totalitarianism" (http://www.fosterfriess.com/articles/20049/) Also: Kyai Haji Abdurrahman Wahid and C.Holland Taylor: "A Tradition of Tolerance in Indonesia Offers Hope", Foreign Service Journal, April 2008, Vol.85, No 4. (http://www.afsa.org/fsj/apr08/toc.pdf)

(205) On the Gus Dur Foundation, the Wahid Institute, and their political connections, see Andreas Harsono: "Jakarta's Intelligence Service Hires Washington Lobbyists" (Center for Public Integrity, 9.7.06).

In 2000, Henry Kissinger became Abdurrahman Wahid's advisor. Kissinger, it is worth noting, had been strongly in favour of military intervention in East Timor in 1975.

(206) Nancy de Wolf Smith: "Daughter of Islam" interview with Yenni Wahid, in WSJ, Feb.25th, 2006. (http://www.opinionjournal.com/forms/printThis.html?id=110008016)

(207) On Ravi Krishnamurthy, see www.libforall.org/about-us-management.html, Krishnamurthy's own web-site www.integralseeing.com, and for Krishnamurthy and Sri Bhagawan, see http://www.onenessuniversity.org.

(208) The interest in pop (and especially rock) music as an evangelical and a political medium is widespread. For an account of the use of pop music in the subversion of Islam, see J. Michael Waller: Cultural battlespace: Muslim rockers resist extremism (Serviam, Jan-Feb 2008)—reproduced by the Institute of World Politics (http://www.iwp.edu/news/newsID.451/news_detail.asp) The political use of Dhani as a rock star has its parallel in the use of rock music in many of the newer churches. Singapore's US$46 million Charismatic City Harvest Church is reputed to have the loudest rock music of all.(see http://www.cephasministry.com/news_pulse_2.2003.html)

(209) See http://www.naqshbandi.ca/en/about/Resume_Sh_Hisham06.pdf.

(210) On Dawn Elder and the "ethnic music" industry, see Elder's website: http://www.demgmt.com/, and also: http://www.libforall.org/popculture-republic-of-love.html.

(211) On Miles Copeland Senior and his CIA career, see Larry Hecht: "H.G.Wells and Bertrand Russell: The 'No-Soul' Gang Behind Reverend Moon's Gnostic Sex Cult" (Executive Intelligence Review, Dec.20th,2002), also as: http://larouchepub.com/other/2002/2949moonification.html, also: Martin A. Lee: "The CIA and the Muslim Brotherhood" (RAZOR Magazine, Sept. 2004) (http://ce399.typepad.com/weblog/2006/04/the_cia_and_the.html). On the Muslim Brotherhood, see also: John Mintz and Douglas Farah: "In Search of Friends Among the Foes: US Hopes to Work with Diverse Groups." (Washington Post, Sept 11th, 2004)

(212) For details of the work of Shaul Eisenberg, in oiling US-Israeli cooperation in Asia, see Cliff Shack: "Shaul Eisenberg, Weapons Smuggler" (http://jaxrevenge.blogspot.com/2007_12_01_archive.html) Shack notes that Kissinger arranged through Eisenberg to help modernize China's military as a makeweight to the USSR in Asia, and to supply the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia.

(213) For Abdurrahman Wahid's comments on Israel's "ethnic management", see AIJAC Review, November, 1999.

(214) Greer Fay Cashman: "Indonesian Peace Delegate Meets with Peres" (Jerusalem Post, 8.12.07)

(215) Tom Tugend's article, "The Blood, The Crips, and the Rabbi" (Jewish Journal, Jan.18th, 2008) gives a useful summary of Cooper's career. (http://www.jewishjournal.com/articles/article/the_bloods_the_crips_and_the_rabbi_20080118/)

(216) For details of Libforall's links with the Simon Weisenthal Center, see "The Two Faces of Islam" and other articles on Muslims, in SWC's Snider Social Action Institute Response World Report No 2, Vol 29, Fall-Winter 2007. See also: Walter Rubin: "Towards a Kinder, Gentler Islam" (The Jewish Week, Feb. 20th, 2008) (http://www.thejewishweek.com/viewArticle/c36_a4513/News/New_York.html)

"Right Islam v Wrong Islam" Wall Street Journal, Dec., 2005 (http://www.libforall.org/news-WSJ-right-islam-vs.-wrong-islam.html,

(217) In his book "The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Saud from Tradition to Terror", Stephen Schwartz presents a thoughtful view from the US liberal establishment. In an interview with Katie Bacon in The Atlantic (March 20th, 2003) entitled "The Real Islam", Schwartz argues for a "moderate Islam", accommodated by a democratic US and a deserving Israel. (http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200303u/int2003-03-20)

(218) On Soka Gakkai, see http://www.rickross.com/groups/gakkai.html.

(219) On the subject of Hindu Zionists, see Gautier's "The Secret Brotherhood of India and Israel" in Canadian Coalition for Democracies (http://canadiancoalition.com/forum/messages/4565.shtml), and also Sanjay Subrahmanyam: "Bad Time to be Muslim" (Times of India, August 22nd, 2006)

(220) For Dhani's Colorado Springs trip, see http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1635351,000.html

(221) On Libforall's wider network, see for example: http://www.worldsecurity-index.com/pressdet.php?id=1242 http://www.aei.org/events/eventID.1573,filter.all/summary.asp, http://www.foster-friess.org. Center for Security Policy, conference on Islamo-fascism (21.9.06)

(222) http://www.opinionjournal.com/columnists/bstephens/?id=110010315. Stephens here reports on the apparent disdain of the Bush White House for Libforall's liberal agenda.

(223) Habitat for Humanity's "vision" and strategy are little different to those of World Vision. Like World Vision, the group was a key agency in the Bush "Faith Initiative": indeed, Bush even worked as a HfH "volunteer" soon after Hurricane Katrina—if only for a photo opportunity. From 2003, HfH collaborated with

World Vision and Eastern Baptist University in "designing and delivering a Christ-centered graduate program for the developing world"—geared specifically to preparing a more evangelical leadership for the NGO relief and development sector. On HfH's Christian credentials, see: http://www.hfhap.org/news/New_CEO.html, and a revealing analysis by Alex Constantine on: http://911review.org/Alex/Crash_CIA_Habitat_Sex.html. See also Wikipedia entry for "School of Leadership and Development".

(224) For an insight into HfH's work in Sabah, see Allen Tong's blog on: www.habitat4humanitykotakinabalu.blogspot.com. And for Allen Tong's church, see: www.skylinesib.com/pages/ourbackground.skyline.

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Over the past 30 years, US foreign policy has relied increasingly on the presence of evangelical Christians in policy-making, administration, funding, and work in the field. It is a presence that is little advertised, and systematically obscured from public view. But it is a crucial and extremely influential presence — politically, militarily, culturally, and economically. And it is a presence which has had far-reaching (and often disastrous) effects on the relationship between the Christian West and non-Christian cultures, religious communities, and nations.

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